THE MUSLIM WORLD

VOL. L JULY 1960 NO. 3

FREE INQUIRY

The well-known Islamic tradition, "Seek knowledge, even to China," has been a stimulus down the centuries to diligence in the pursuit of learning. It has bolstered the cause of those who have considered it a moral imperative to develop the mind and promote personal and social welfare through cultural advance.

The contributions of early Muslim theologians, philosophers, physicians, mathematicians, astronomers and geographers, are so obvious that rehearsal of their accomplishments is unnecessary in order to prove their genuine interest in the progress of science. Historically they have followed in the line of the great thinkers of antiquity whose desire was to pierce the mysteries of this world, of man himself, of human relationships and of the supernatural.

Numerous pages in this issue are devoted to a consideration of the ideas of men from the time of the Fāṭimids to Rashīd Riḍā whose object of quest was greater knowledge. Their questions were multiple. What is man? What is his relation to God? What is the soul? What is the nature of this world? What constitutes proper conduct? How should Scripture be interpreted? What is the role of the prophets? Who is the arbiter of man's belief?

If any justification were needed to claim with insistence the right to know the answers to these and similar questions, that would be found within the nature of man himself. For the Creator has endowed him with a mind, a thinking faculty, power of memory, and, above all, has instilled within him an insatiable desire to acquire knowledge and increase his understanding of the world about him.

Problems arise, however, when the seeker asks how he may know, by what means he may acquire indubitable and irrefutable knowledge. All of his questions on God, life, man, human relationships, the hereafter, and other comparable subjects, are as legitimate as they are inevitable. But confusion and discord occur when standards of judgment are scrutinized. Is the criterion revelation, Scripture texts, personal opinion, concensus of the recognized intellectual authorities, formulated doctrines of antiquity? Or is there some new gauge by which to evaluate truth? May new insights be gained through education, scientific research, hard thinking?

In other words, is the ancient principle of *ijtihād,* implying the right of free inquiry by qualified persons, applicable to today's world? Rather, is it a principle which a dynamic world can afford to reject? It may well be that in Muslim lands in the future the dominant theme of

controversy will revolve about the validity of this principle. For in religious matters there is reluctance to examine critically the vestiges of the past and the heritage of venerated ancestors. Also vested interests which fear close scrutiny are tenacious.

Yet contemporary intellectuals are beginning to stir with inquisitiveness. In retrospect, the spirit of today's partisans of free inquiry is somewhat analagous to the questioning attitude of ancient Socrates. For the venerable philosopher considered it his mission to arouse the minds of men to creative thought, to condemn loose thinking and careless statements, to instill courage to test traditional opinions and current ideas with sound thought, to examine minutely ancient and respected prejudices.

Modern educational systems are founded on the assumption that new knowledge is available by searching, experimentation and thought. The American University of Beirut, a former President of which contributes an article in this issue, has pioneered in the struggle for the advance of human thought and has championed the cause of intellectual freedom. The liberation of the mind is always a struggle. Wherever individuals or institutions of learning demand the right to express uncertainty about what the past has accepted unquestioningly, and claim for themselves the privilege to investigate and form judgments, a conflict arises.

Will the conflict trouble the academic placidity of historic seats of learning in Muslim lands where the traditional concern has been to conserve in their pristine form the tenets and principles of early Islam? Or within the walls of universities of recent establishment, even in lands but slowly emerging from a state of feudalism, will intellectual freedom be the outcome of the struggle between modernism and mediaevalism? Will the views of students or professors inclined toward liberalism find hospitality or will they be rebuked by an academic world satisfied to remain in its customary immutability? Admittedly to pose these questions is not to answer them. Yet the welfare of individuals, peoples and states is, as ever in the past, conditioned by the mind's response to them. Indeed, academic freedom, so warmly cherished and ardently defended by scholars, is only one phase of the larger freedom demanded by today's world. Withal it is basic. For deny, as one may, the right to think, to speculate, to experiment, to form conclusions, men will continue to reflect and form their own judgments. There is something inexorable and relentless about the contemporary urge for freedom of the mind. Expel it from the class room and it reappears in some less erudite setting. Remove its insistent demands from the lecture platform and its voice will be heard from the political rostrum. Ignore the student's questionings in the halls of learning and they are heard by the crowd in the market place.

We are reminded of Galileo who, in 1631, was called to Rome to answer charges of teaching a theory of the universe that to Christian

theologians of the seventeenth century was heresy. He recanted, and during the remainder of his days his voice was silenced by his religious opponents. Yet his doctrines continued to circulate and eventually became common knowledge.

As in academic circles, so is freedom in the sphere of the religious. The two are inseparable. Denial or suppression of liberty in one implies as much for the other. And in this modern age a divorce of religion and theology from sound reasoning is futile.

If these remarks verge on truisms, perhaps it will be useful, especially since this Quarterly is celebrating its Jubilee year, to turn back to the editorial of the January 1938 issue, first number to be published under the auspices of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, to re-read the words of the late Duncan Black Macdonald. There he stated that the purpose of this Quarterly is to dispel ignorance about Islam, help the Muslim peoples "to understand themselves in this world common to us all, and to see more clearly the road of their future as it lies before them." He decries "narrow bigotry." Dr. Macdonald would have his readers know that writers in this periodical "have always tried to serve in the spirit of Jesus" who is revered by East and West alike. He wanted missionaries as well as others to know "that Islam possessed a living development of theology and a theological literature quite as real and extensive as that of the Christian Church." "In regard to Islam," he recognized, "we are all students and learners." Particularly relevant to our theme are his words: "The endeavor of all contributors will be to seek to state truth. For the true scholar truth is just as sacred as for the true theologian. For both, freedom of statement is a necessary right. To such investigations, conducted in a spirit of forbearance and courtesy, these pages, according to their possibilities, will always be open."

To Duncan Black Macdonald religion was central. At the same time he insisted on the obligation of sound scholarship in all matters pertaining thereto. And sound scholarship implies necessarily the right to free inquiry.

In reality, valid religion has nothing to fear from intellectual inquiry. There have been periods in the development of Christian thought when the pious approached learning with trepidation. Their misapprehensions were founded on the false assumption of the natural incompatibility of faith and science. But ideas grounded on this assumption, in Christian circles, are rapidly vanishing. We have come to understand how free inquiry and, consequently, new insights, have put religious belief to the test and made it to pass through the crucible of reason. This process continues from generation to generation, for man's mind has its limitations, no one can know all that is knowable, and each individual must discover truth for himself. And the truth which the mind seeks to unveil must have relatedness to today's situations and problems.

If it is feared that liberty to think and investigate endangers religion, that is, that *ijtihād* is inimical to belief, then perhaps other questions regarding the nature of the faith requiring defense should be raised. Is that faith valid? It is true? What is the criterion of its truth? Is it loyal to its own historic past? If it is indubitably true, why does it shrink from minute examination? Is it uplifting or degrading to its adherents? Is it tolerant or bigoted? Does it respect the mind as a faculty created by God? Is it a faith that is acceptable to the best minds? Has it kept pace with and maintained its relatedness to the development of other sciences?

Dr. Charles Malik, Lebanese philosopher and statesman, in an address recently delivered at Trinity College, Hartford, is reported to have seen threats to man's future in "anti-intellectualism" and in "self-conscious and exclusive collectivism." He said: "Anti-intellectualism kills man because it kills the wonderful certainty and power of reason, and what is man without reason? Exclusive collectivism kills man also, because it destroys his freedom as an individual person, and what is man without freedom?" Responding to the question of the place of man in the future, he replied, "Man has no place unless you restore to him his reason and his freedom."

Possession of reason and freedom, on the other hand, does involve risk. These may be allowed to serve nefarious ends, even as atomic energy may be utilized for war or peace. They may lead astray or guide aright. But there can be no progress without hazards. This possibility should drive us with greater urgency to the acquisition of sounder knowledge of the moral and religious bases of our culture. To remain in the elementary grades in respect of these bases, while in the natural sciences the masses move to higher levels of instruction, means being dispossessed of that moral idealism without which the quest for a better world is futile.

As warfare, under whatever pretext, is now being condemned by enlightened peoples, the *jihād* (holy warfare) is being subject to reinterpretation. It has become commonplace to read of the *jihād* against ignorance, illiteracy, poverty, social inequalities, feudalism, as Christians speak of a crusade against similar social blemishes, without a serious thought of the original connotation of the terms used. But is the *jihād* in the more felicitous sense possible without *ijtihād* with a noble purpose? It is extremely doubtful that wrongs can be righted or that man is able to discharge worthily his obligations as a citizen of the world within the great family of nations unless he enjoy liberty of thought and belief, in an atmosphere of mutual respect and tolerance.

But happily the signs of increasing respect and tolerance among peoples of divergent faiths are manifold today. This trend will continue with education and enlightenment. It will be hastened as we consider all learning, investigation and science in their divine perspective. It is permissible to speak of consecrated learning and knowledge. That

is, when the learner is motivated by the welfare of his fellow-men rather than by selfish purposes, when his mind and talents are really devoted to peace, good-will, harmonious relations and service to others, then confidence may be retained in the ultimate fruits of free inquiry.

E.H.D.

RASHĪD RIḌĀ AND ISLAMIC LEGAL REFORM
AN IDEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

PART II. APPLICATION

IV

The previous article attempted to show that Rashīd Riḍā's modernism advocated a legal methodology strikingly different from that of traditional Islamic jurisprudence. While the latter supposedly based its applied rules on deduction from the revelation of Qurʾān and Sunna, allowing but little room for the jurist's sense of utility or equity under the heading of *maṣlaḥa,* Rashīd Riḍā's methodology proposed to make utility the cardinal principle of the entire legal system, in order to facilitate the social and political reforms and spirit of progress which he thought necessary. It remains to consider how he conceived the practical implementation of the new methodology, and what problems were raised by the question of implementation.

One of the most important implications of Rashīd Riḍā's appeal to *maṣlaḥa* as a legal source was that, by introducing a broad and flexible process of reinterpretation into the law, it made necessary the recognition of some agency entrusted with the task of implementing the process, while at the same time it presupposed subjecting the accumulated consensus (*ijmāᶜ*) of many centuries to critical review and replacing it by a new *ijmāᶜ*. Rashīd Riḍā proposed in effect to combine these undertakings by considering the electors of the Caliph (*ahl al-ḥall wa-l-ᶜaqd*), the participants in the process of political consultation (*ahl al-shūrā*), the "persons in authority" (*ūlū-l-amr*), and the interpreters of the law (*mujtahidūn*) all members of a single institutional body in which the sovereign powers of the Community would lie and whose executive the Caliph would be. This organ would be at once legislative and judicial, for its agreement to institute particular legal ordinances would have the force of *ijmāᶜ*, in the sense that it would be an authoritative pronouncement of law valid for its particular time and place. [1]

It is at once apparent that this incorporation of *ijmāᶜ* into a formal institution would be a new departure unprecedented in Islamic history, and that the value of *ijmāᶜ* as a source of dogma might have to be reexamined in the new circumstances. Rashīd Riḍā recognized that *ijmāᶜ* had not been formally expressed before, and suggested even that for lack of such expression it is doubtful to what extent it could be said truly to have existed in relation to particular points; it was, however, for lack of practical means of communication that there was no institutionalization in earlier times, and this, he said, is what he proposed to remedy. [2]

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[1] See Riḍā's *Al-Khilāfa aw al-Imāmat al-ᶜUẓmā* (Cairo, 1923), 11-17.
[2] *Ibid.*, 102.

In identifying the problem of *ijmāᶜ* in relation to that of *maṣlaḥa*, it is necessary to return to the discussion of the latter begun in the previous article. The basis of the difference between those ordinances of the Sharīᶜa that are subject to human adaptation and those that are not, says Riḍā, is a matter of epistemology: what values can be discerned by human faculties and which ones can not? This distinction is set forth in another "debate between the reformer and the slavish imitator," in which the reformer declares:

> "God's ordinances are of two categories. The first category is the one in which reason is not sufficient by itself to know the sources or applications of the law; this category is the purely spiritual... Reason can grasp its worldly value and benefit on the whole but commits the matter of its benefit for the after-life to God, as for example belief in the unseen. This applies to questions dealing with the after-life and the forms of ritual and worship... This category is to be accepted from the Lawgiver without reason's presuming to add to it or subtract from it...
>
> "The second category is one in which reason can know the aspect of utility by reflection, speculation, examination, and analogy, but is liable to error and misguidance in some matters, sometimes because of its weakness and sometimes because of its inclination to caprice. Therefore the law established general principles so that its derivative ordinances might be made known on the basis of them. This is the category of social transactions, based on the principle of repelling injuries and securing benefits and of preferring the lesser of two evils in case one or the other is inevitable... It is in this category that the general public must unquestioningly follow those in authority, who in turn must be well versed in the sciences of religion and in worldly matters..." [3]

This means that in political questions the decisions of the leading *mujtahidūn* having to do with matters of public interests are authoritative and binding, and their *ijmāᶜ* is a "legal source" (*ḥujja sharᶜīya*) although this is not true in purely religious matters. These *mujtahidūn* are obliged to take a broad view of all considerations affecting the public interest rather than to "take literally the example set by the Prophet in all its particulars, even when this obliges them to ignore the public interest." Such an obligation is implicit in the Prophet's saying, "The witness sees what the absent person does not see"; i.e., a particular question can only be judged properly in the light of its particular circumstances. [4] Textual limits must of course be respected:

> "But the independence of judgment which this *ḥadīth* sanctions does not negate the obligation, in explicitly defined cases, to con-

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[3] *Manār*, iv, 858-9.
[4] *Ibid.*, 860.

sult the text of the Qur'ān, just as it does not negate the obligation to follow the other principles of legal methodology that govern deduction and interpretation; on the contrary, these are required, though by another proof." [5]

Still, the Qur'ānic texts are only intended for the most part to be used as general principles:

"For God did not reveal Qur'ānic verses corresponding to the number of situations befalling men and say, 'Judge by these, they are justice,' but rather He gave us a measure by which we ascertain truth on the basis of probability." [6]

This reference to probability is especially significant. It suggests an acknowledgment by Riḍā that if the main body of the *muʿāmalāt* is to be determined by broad interpretation of current social needs and not by a purely philological and deductive study of the exact texts of Qur'ān and *ḥadīth,* then there is no avoiding a partial intrusion of human guesswork and error, which are inherent in any judgment of probability. Probability can only represent an external facade of the true meaning of the divine law as it is applied to a given case. A certain amount of this corruption-by-exteriorization is inevitable, to be sure, no matter what the means of interpreting a law which in its pure from is supposed to be nothing less than eternal truth, since interpretation means human understanding, which is by nature imperfect. But there is a considerable difference between an interpretation that is confined to semantic distinctions and formally logical deductions, and one that seeks to determine questions of social and moral value with only the most general and often vague scriptural principles to give guidance. Although the statement is often reiterated that the texts supply general principles, we are never told with any precision what these principles are, beyond protection of life, honor, and property and general benevolence toward others.

If, however, it is openly admitted that judgments made under this plan are reached only as a matter of probability, then at least the limitations of this utilitarianism are brought into the open and too much will not be expected of the method. We might further expect the admission that the agreement of the *mujtahidūn* and "those in authority" on questions of public welfare, while having the force of positive law, are in the first place not necessarily a true representation of the divine law, and therefore are valid only in their own time and place, i.e., subject to review, and secondly that disagreement is always to be expected and resoluble only by some rather arbitrary procedure, such as a majority vote, which will provide not dogmatic certainty but only a convenient and orderly method of decision.

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[5] *Loc. cit.*
[6] *Loc. cit.*

The first of these corollaries seems in fact to have been adopted by Rashīd Riḍā. As for the second, he prefers to lapse evasively into the traditional argument that assumes that the Qurʾān and Sunna provide clear answers to all problems and ignores the practical need for a means of authoritative interpretation:

> "We affirm that God permitted legislation (*ishtirāᶜ*) in Islam, delegating it to the Community to be decided upon by those possessing knowledge and judgment in consultation among themselves. In truth power belongs to the Community, so that if their interpretation could be sought on a matter and if they reached unanimous agreement, their decision would be binding on all. Neither the Caliph nor other officers have the right to contradict or oppose their *ijmāᶜ*, nor to oppose their representatives and delegates who are the *ahl al-ḥall wa-l-ᶜaqd*. The agreement of these latter, if they are limited in number, is considered by the jurists to be *ijmāᶜ* provided only that they be persons qualified for *ijtihād*.
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> "Should they disagree in their interpretation, the subject of their disagreement must be referred to the two basic sources, the Qurʾān and the Sunna. Action must then be taken on the basis of what is indicated by one or both of these two sources, in keeping with the Quranic verse (IV: 58) which, after commanding obedience to God, the Prophet, and those in authority, says: 'And if ye dispute in anything, then refer the matter to God and the Prophet, if ye are believers in God and the Judgment Day; that is the best interpretation.' This means that this is better and sounder than other procedures, such as acting on the opinion of a majority of the nation's delegates in enacting the statutes of Europe and her imitators, for our law is opposed to them in this matter. It is one of the advantages of our law that a dispute within the Community ceases with the giving of judgment by the Qurʾān and the Sunna, and that all the delegates of the Community are satisfied with what appears to be the most likely indication in these sources, so that no room is left for rancor and dispute." [7]

It is true that this passage was written over twenty years later than the preceding one in which reference was first made to probability. But the last sentence in this passage now repeats the reference ("the most likely indication..."). His initial premise has not changed, but is reaffirmed repeatedly, in his later writings: that legislative interpretation is to be carried out on a broad scale on the basis of the concept of public benefit. It is therefore startling to find this bland assertion that the Qurʾān and Sunna provide the criteria for resolving all disagreements, especially when one considers that it is precisely the

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[7] *Khilāfa*, 93.

question of how to interpret textual principles that must give rise to disagreement in the first place. How can disputes over the meaning of the Qur'ān be decided by referring to the Qur'ān? And if the Qur'ān and Sunna do provide clear answers to all questions, what has become of the bold process of interpretation that Riḍā so tirelessly describes elsewhere? What need can there then be for *ijtihād* and *ijmāᶜ*?

But Riḍā's circular argument should not be taken at face value. Any implication that he has in this strange passage reverted to orthodox conservatism an thrown off his liberal view of *maṣlaḥa* is quickly belied in the passage immediately following, in which he declares that even in the absence of textual stipulations for a liberal interpretation of the law, "necessity alone would suffice as a legal source to justify the process of drawing conclusions known today as legislation (*tashrīᶜ*)." [8]

This is indeed a broad use of the concept of necessity. We are told in effect that necessity not only suspends standing rules in special circumstances but actually creates new rules as human needs dictate them. In this sense it is virtually synonymous with *maṣlaḥa*. The entire superstructure of substantive law arising from the general textual foundations is dictated by human need, whether under the name of public interest or necessity. And this equation of interest with necessity, put forth in such a manner as to make formal deductions from the revealed sources only a secondary confirmation of what the law should be, amounts to a doctrine of natural law in which religious considerations are really superfluous.

Since Riḍā continued to hold this view, then, what can explain his assertion that all disputes can be resolved by reference to the Qur'ān and the Sunna? Why does he not follow his position to its logical consequences, admit the implications of interpreting on the basis of probability, and recognize that disagreement among the legislators — perhaps even political partisanship — is inevitable and cannot be resolved in any final and authoritative way?

Part of the answer, at least, can perhaps be found by considering the fact that the traditional doctrines of both constitutional organization and jurisprudence, while not lacking in explanations of methodology, said little or nothing of practical consequence on the questions of procedure. The doctrines were strong on theoretical justifications and weak on the important issues of institutional implementation. Government and law in this approach are considered from the point of view of their divine origins rather than that of their positive function of resolving human conflicts. Theories of the Caliphate tended to be a systematic apologia for the historical record of Sunni practice, a recording of accumulated Sunni consensus, by which the various constitutional developments were given the stamp of doctrinal sanctity.

[8] *Ibid.*, 94.

The question of procedures for legislative interpretation was beyond the function of the theory: the Sharīᶜa was a universally acknowledged divine law to be enforced by the ruler as an exercise of his divinely instituted office; the content of the Sharīᶜa is taken for granted, i.e., it is whatever the Qurᵓān, Sunna, analogy, and consensus indicate.

Constitutional theory, then, provided no blueprint for institutional procedures of legislative interpretation by which open questions could receive positive resolution. Nor was such a blueprint offered in traditional theories of jurisprudence. The "science of the sources of law" (*ᶜilm uṣūl al-fiqh*) was confined to defining the so-called "hierarchy of proofs" (*tartīb al-adilla*) and examining each of the sources within itself in order to classify their subdivisions (strong and weak *ḥadīths*, local and universal *ijmāᶜ*, *ijmāᶜ* of the scholars and *ijmāᶜ* of the Community at large, etc.) The means for authoritative validation of particular interpretations was of course *ijmāᶜ*. But the nearest thing to a formal institutionalization of this was the gradual crystallization of learned opinion in the great Sunni "schools," and this process was not really formal at all; indeed, it could not have been, without the schools becoming political affiliates or wards of the government. A formalized and institutionalized *ijmāᶜ*, and *a fortiori* a political *ijmāᶜ*, in losing its indeterminate, semi-articulate character, would lose its traditional function as an expression of the general cumulative, time-tested general conscience and become a declaration of the general will and a blueprint for policy. This transformation could only serve to separate the concept of *ijmāᶜ* from the religious ideal of the Sharīᶜa and reconstitute it as a convenient but imperfect tool for the application of law. Thus it would cease to be a legal source, on the same level as the Qurᵓān and Sunna, and would become a political agency, combining the always fallible powers of practical judgment offered by the ruler's consultants (*aḥl al-shūrā*) with the temporal power of decision of the ruler himself. *Ijmāᶜ* in this sense would be a process of positive legislation, not a canonical proof. If it were to do its new work, there would clearly be no room for a principle of unanimity. [9]

Rashīd Riḍā's difficulty was that, while he sought to organize *ijmāᶜ* into a formal institution, he equated it with the *shūrā*, and perhaps even recognized that this would produce legal rules of validity quite different from those agreed upon by the Companions of the Prophet (whose consensus was infallible). At the same time he was the unwitting prisoner of the idealist theoretical tradition. Whereas traditional theory was simply not concerned with the problems of positive verification and application of legal interpretations, Riḍā was often unaware of them. As a Muslim apologist he was only too ready to declare that the Sharīᶜa permits progressive and humane evolution, justifying his

[9] For a similar view see Louis Gardet, *La Cité musulmane: vie sociale et politique* (Paris, 1954), 119-134.

claim by outlining the means of liberal interpretation and application; but he could scarcely afford to admit that the results would be no more inspired than Western quantitative, partisan democracy. To avoid this admission he took refuge in the ideal quality of the Islamic sources — the categorical validity of the revelations of Qur'ān and Sunna, on whose authority there could be no disagreement — and then slipped back into the realm of positive application, declaring that in *interpreting* the sources there *will* be no disagreement. By the same unconscious process, he managed to attribute to *ijmāᶜ* as a positive application the same quality of unanimity (and hence infallibility) that it enjoyed as a canonical source on the ideal level. In short, he uses a traditional concept of the religious source and justification of the law to characterize the law's positive application. This is the same process he followed in his constitutional theory of the Caliphate, mistaking a doctrine of authority for a program of action and ending by attributing sovereign authority in the Community to a circularly defined group of "those in authority" (*ūlū-l-amr*).

This does not mean that Rashīd Riḍā was given to contradictions and garbled reasoning, nor that he saw no distinction between the criterion on which a decision is based and the procedure by which the decision is reached. On the contrary, he and his fellow modernists were painfully aware that the prescribed criteria had long been ignored, partly for lack of a more adequate procedure, and in their disuse had become stultified and ill-understood; he sought to re-cast the criteria in a more favorable light and at the same time to describe procedures by which they could be instituted practically. But the traditional theories which constituted his intellectual heritage dealt with moral ideals and criteria, not with positive applications and procedures; his education was in the religious and legal sciences, not in methods of critical historical or political analysis. As he was heir to an idealist rather than positivist tradition, it is hardly surprising that he should be imperceptibly bound at times by the limitations in scope of the former, even seeking to escape them, and that, when in positivist territory, he was misled by occasional wishful thinking.

Nevertheless, these understandable predilections could lead Riḍā into some very blind alleys indeed, and, when they did, much of his potential appeal to progressive minds was destroyed. It is curious that his general doctrine of the criteria of legal interpretation, if it invited criticism on any grounds, did so by appealing so widely to human value judgments in the form of *maṣlaḥa* as virtually to negate the supposed ideal and imperative character of the law, while on the other hand his attempts to find positive means of effectively instituting such interpretation were crippled by a hangover of idealism. In these circumstances, Riḍā's progressive doctrine of interpretation, rather than contributing to a revived recognition of the Sharīᶜa as a living foundation on which to build an entire modern legal structure, served instead as

an opening wedge toward a frank espousal by others of the principle of secular legislation.

V

Rashīd Riḍā was therefore embittered by his discovery in the early 1920's that his most formidable opponents were not the tradition-bound *ᶜulamā'* of the Azhar University but the western-educated secularists, who were ready to push his own utilitarian principles beyond the bounds to which his intellectual background restricted him. In 1925 and 1926 he was drawn into a series of polemical attacks on ᶜAlī ᶜAbd al-Rāziq, the author of a work on the theory of the Caliphate [10] which attempted to demonstrate that the historical Caliphate was not a religious institution, that it was not sanctioned by the true principles of Islam, and that modern Muslims should consider themselves quite at liberty to choose Western, Bolshevik, or any other secular models of government that appealed to them. The vehemence of Riḍā's attack [11] was very likely due in part to the fact that ᶜAbd al-Rāziq, as an Azhar graduate of pious family who had been exposed as a student to the teaching of Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, should — following only one year's stay in England — not only come forth with an outright call to secularism, but base his interpretations on premises not always very different from those of Riḍā himself.

Likewise Aḥmad Ṣafwat, an Egyptian lawyer of the same period, was subjected to violent denunciations for preaching a doctrine of interpretation of the Sharīᶜa sources which, judging by Riḍā's own description of it, seems in keeping with the general spirit of the latter's writings. Here is Riḍā's account of Ṣafwat's position:

> "In the name of Islam he allowed non-adherence to the texts of the Qurᵓān in particular matters, and thought it enough to bear in mind the intention and purpose in what it forbade, and the intended wisdom in what it commanded; what it permitted, every ruler could forbid.
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> "In the case of the Sunna, all the rulings and decisions of the Prophet which it confirmed need not be followed by later generations. This contradicts God's words in the Qurᵓān, 'Follow him, (Muḥammad), that ye may find success.' In his view, the Muslims

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[10] *Al-Islām wa Uṣūl al-Ḥukm* ("Islam and the Sources of Government"), Cairo, 1925. See the discussion by Majid Fakhry, "The Theocratic Idea of the Islamic State in Recent Controversies," *International Affairs,* xxx (1954), 450-462; also C. C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt* (London, 1933), 259-268.

[11] *Manar* xxvi, 101-2, 230-2; xxvii, 715-7. The latter article bears the revealing title "Al-Monsieur ᶜAlī ᶜAbd al-Rāziq yanziᶜ al-ᶜImāma" (Monsieur ᶜAlī ᶜAbd al-Rāziq sheds his turban).

> are obliged in every time and place to follow their rulers' prescriptions, permissions, and prohibitions, even if the latter are in clear opposition to an explicit Sunna of their Prophet... or to a text of the Qurʾān. For, in his opinion, all that the Muslims are obliged to do is to bear in mind what they understand of the wisdom and intended meaning of the texts. If they are able to remember this wisdom and assimilate this meaning by means other than following the enunciated verses, there is nothing objectionable in that. As the writer himself put it: 'There is no harm in arriving at an intended goal by most beneficial and convenient means.'
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> "As an example, he would allow a marriage contract to be made official without participation of witnesses, and would consider most of the period of pregnancy sufficient, after divorce, before remarriage, rather than the length of time prescribed by the Quranic text. Indeed, it would (presumably) be equally suitable, if we knew by an X-ray examination of the inside of the womb that the woman was not pregnant, to let her remarry on the very day of her divorce, or let her husband not pay alimony if she should not remarry.
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> "By this principle there remains nothing forbidden that cannot be committed legally by whoever claims authorization by virtue of what he considers the intended meaning of the Quranic prohibitions, such as drinking wine, marriage with one's daughter, and such like." [12]

It was apparently when a specific conclusion was drawn from the liberal methods of interpretation that Rashīd Riḍā sensed a danger to the revealed basis of the law. Ṣafwat's offense was in thinking ahead to particular situations that might arise in the future (such as questions dealing with marriage); Riḍā, while he had much to say about the humanist values of the Sharīʿa, said very little about concrete examples. In reality Ṣafwat did not dismiss the body of Quranic and Sunna sources as of no account, but to Riḍā's mind this is what he had done to all intents, in saying that it was sufficient to implement their understood purposes. Likewise Riḍā was offended by Ṣafwat's statement, "Thus the obligation is dissolved to cling to the literal meanings of the legislative pronouncements appearing in the Qurʾān." [13] In general, he considered Ṣafwat guilty of "trying to destroy Islam through interpretation." [14]

Rashīd Riḍā himself, as has already been shown, had long since

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[12] *Manār,* xxiii, 545-6. Excepting the final paragraph, this is a reasonable summary of Ṣafwat's own statement of his views in his article "The Theory of Mohammedan Law," *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law,* ii (1920), 310-316.

[13] *Manār,* xxiii, 546; xxvi, 104.

[14] *Manār,* xxiii, 546.

proclaimed a similar doctrine of liberation from the shackles of literal meanings, on the basis of utilitarianism. In 1906 he had published in *Al-Manār* the text of a radically utilitarian treatise [15] on *maṣlaḥa* by the 14th Century Ḥanbalī jurist Najm al-Dīn Ṭawfī (d. 716 A. H.). Ṭawfī's position was that all specific rules enunciated in the Qur'ān or Sunna should be subordinated to the *ḥadīth, lā ḍarar wa lā ḍirār* ("no injury and no counter-injury"), which he interpreted as a general call for a frank consideration of utility in all cases of law other than matters of ritual observance. In a brief introduction Riḍā recalls that he has himself often insisted that the promotion of material interests is the first principle of jurisprudence in all social transactions, and that "this indicates that *maṣlaḥa* takes precedence over a textual source." It is characterisic of his apologetic position that he overlooks the decidedly unrepresentative place of Ṭawfī among medieval writers, as well as the dubious reliability (implicitly admitted by Ṭawfī himself) of the *ḥadīth* in question. [16]

Had the work been written in Egypt in 1920 by an Aḥmad Ṣafwat, it seems doubtful hat Riḍā would have welcomed it. The criticism to which both Ṭawfī's doctrines are most liable — that they open the door for human value judgments wide enough to destroy the religious basis of law entirely and secularize the criteria of civil legislation as well as its applications [17] — could not be more effectively expressed than in the terms in which Riḍā himself attacks his selected secularist enemies.

VI

Superficially, Riḍā's jurisprudence seems dynamically revolutionary in all respects. The traditional doctrine of methodology was static, based on formal deductions from fixed values; Riḍā's was based on the creative potentialities of an intuitive consideration of material human welfare. The traditional doctrine was not attached to any clear system of institutional application; Riḍā proposed that this be changed. The traditional doctrine did not consider itself open to interpretive review, and thus looked backward rather than forward, explaining the foundation of an already accumulated record of jurisprudence; Riḍā looked

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[15] *Manār,* ix, 745-770. A more complete text appears in the index to Muṣṭafā Zaid's *Al-Maṣlaḥa fī-l-Tashrīᶜ al-Islāmī wa Najm al-Dīn Ṭawfī* (Cairo, 1954), and in ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb Khallāf's *Maṣādir al-Tashrīᶜ al-Islāmī fīmā lā Naṣṣ fīh* (Cairo, 1955), 88-122. See also Riḍā's favorable account of Ṭawfī in *Yusr al-Islām wa Uṣūl al-Tashrīᶜ al-ᶜĀmm* (Cairo, 1928), 72-3, and his invocation of Ṭawfī's *ḥadīth "lā ḍarar wa lā ḍirār"* in *ibid.,* 75.

[16] Zaid, Appendix, 18; Khallāf, 92.

[17] In Khallāf's view, Ṭawfī "opened the door to suppression of the revealed texts, and made the judgments of the texts and *ijmāᶜ* liable to cancellation by opinion. For consideration of the *maṣlaḥa* is no more than naked opinion and arbitrary speculation." (*Op. cit.,* 84.)

forward to the progressive reinterpretation of law as an instrument of social regeneration. The traditional doctrine served the ideological purpose of maintaining the moral prestige and operational prestige both of the law and of the lawyers from the holders of political power; Riḍā's desire was not to set the law apart but to integrate it into the fabric of a governing institution, while still maintaining the law's prestige.

But Riḍā's position, apparently so plausible, could not be maintained consistently for two reasons. First of all, the moral prestige of the law in traditional society had been heavily dependent upon the very characteristics that Riḍā proposed to change. It was the supposed faithfulness to divine revelation, the freedom from the debasing expediency of institutional politics, and the unchallengeable certainty of the historical consensus of many centuries that had guaranteed the sanctity of the Sharīᶜa and supported an image of it as something eternal, sufficient unto itself, and unaffected by the shortcomings of individual men. Rashīd Riḍā, in the interests of progress, wanted to remove these guarantees, without surrendering the idealized image of the law.

Secondly, turning to Riḍā's objectives, it appears that he was motivated by two divergent considerations, one practical and the other ideological, which pulled him in different directions. The practical objective was a constructive one, namely, to encourage material progress and social regeneration in a society integrated in all aspects around the moral inspiration of Islamic faith. The progressive features of Western countries must be emulated, but in an Islamic context; on a basis of humanism, but not secularism. The ideological motivation, on the other hand, was that of apologetics: to show that progressivism and humanism are not importations from outside but revived indigenous principles, and involve no sacrifice of the highest religious ideals. This necessitated a partial revision of the traditional mythology: where it had previously been supposed that the Founding Fathers (*al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ*) had built the legal edifice in accordance with an elaborate blueprint drawn by the Master Architect, it was now maintained that they used considerable imagination and improvisation, that only the foundations had been planned in advance, and that alterations and repairs were therefore indicated. But the myth continued that this was no ordinary house, but a heavenly palace, in which quarrels among the the repairmen would be presumptuous and unseemly, or even inconceivable. Here the demands of apologetics obstructed the constructive work of reform. And hence the plans for reform could never be quite convincing, even to their author himself.

It is the ideological function of Riḍā's position, rather than the constructive purpose, which has had a real effect. Here is the strongest connecting link between his modernism and the traditional idealism. The traditional explanations made possible a great progressive development, namely the incorporation of a large body of pre-Islamic practice

into the constitution of the Islamic empire, by making it appear that this was not really taking place. Rashīd Riḍā and others of his school, whatever their intentions may have been, have facilitated the accomplishment of a great undertaking of secular reform in Islamic countries, notable in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, by making it possible to imagine that the reforms both in civil and family law are in keeping with the "true" spirit of Islam.[18] This has been the case even though Riḍā and his fellow revivalists have rebelled against many of the reforms. If the reforms were not really in harmony with revivalist principles, it has at least been widely supposed that they were, and practically speaking this is more important. It has been the Aḥmad Ṣafwats, not the Rashīd Riḍās, who have reaped the harvest. And hence Riḍā, despite his sincere attachment to the realization of the institutional reforms he proposed, takes his place in history not as a reformer but as an apologist.

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[18] See the attempt to read Islamic principles into the revision of the Egyptian civil code by ᶜAbd al-Razzāq Sanhūrī, "Le Droit musulman comme élément de refonte du code civil égyptien," in *Introduction à l'étude du droit comparé: recueil d'études en honneur d'Edouard Lambert* (Paris, 1938), ii, 621-642. Cf. J. N. D. Anderson, "The Sharīᶜa and Civil Law," *Islamic Quarterly,* i (1954), 29-46. On the concealed manipulation of Sharīᶜa principles in the reform of family law see Anderson's series of nine articles "Recent Developments in Sharīᶜa Law," *Muslim World,* xl, xli, and xlii (1950-1952).

ASPECTS OF THE FĀṬIMID PHILOSOPHY

This is the final contribution to a series about the Fāṭimids. It is hoped that enough can be said in this short article to arouse curiosity about the Fāṭimid philosophy, although a large volume would be needed to deal with the subject in a thoroughgoing way.

During the early years of Islām there was no interest in science or metaphysics, as the Muslims believed that knowledge came by means of revelation rather than by philosophical reasoning. This attitude of mind, however, lasted but a short time. Even during the Umayyad period one of the princes named Khālid ibn-Yazīd employed some Egyptian scholars to translate Coptic and Greek texts about alchemy, medicine and astronomy. [1] Then, during the early years of the ᶜAbbāsid rule Al-Baṭrīq made trial translations of some of the works of Euclid, Hippocrates, Ptolemy and Galen, while Ibn-Bakhtīshūᶜ and his pupils came to Baghdād from Jundishāpūr to teach Greek medicine. When Hārūn al-Rashīd established a hospital (*bīmāristān*) at his capital, it was a great stimulus to medical learning.

In the meantime, al-Fazārī translated works on Sanskrit mathematics and astronomy. He also introduced the Indian numerals and the astrolabe. The fifth section of the seventh chapter of *Kitāb al-Fihrist* gives the names of so many early translators and scientists that one can appreciate the importance of this intellectual awakening at Baghdād.

The renaissance was given special stimulus when the Caliph al-Maᵓmūn founded the Bayt al-Ḥikmah, which served Arab Baghdād as the Museum served Hellenistic Alexandria. This event took place in A.D. 830, sixteen years after the death of Charlemagne. This Bayt al-Ḥikmah, or "House of Wisdom," included a library, a center for advanced study and a translation bureau. The scientific movement spread from this center to Egypt, where the first hospital was founded at the time of ibn-Ṭūlūn who was the governor from A.D. 868 to 905.

Ḥunayn ibn-Isḥāq, his son and his Nestorian associates took the lead in translating into Arabic many Greek and Roman works on medicine, the natural sciences, mathematics and philosophy. These scholars were followed by Thābit ibn-Qurrah and a group of Ṣābian pagans from Ḥarrān, as well as by a number of Monophysite Christians. By the time that the Fāṭimids started higher education in their palace and at al-Jāmiᶜ al-Azhar in al-Qāhirah during the second half of the tenth century, the Muslims were acquainted with most of the

[1] Information for the summary of Muslim Philosophy has been taken chiefly from: *Kitāb al-Fihrist,* Ibn al-Nadīm Gustav Flügel (Leipzig, 1871); *Wafayāt al-Aᶜyān,* Ibn-Khallikān (Maymūniyyah Press, 1888) and Ibn-Khallikān's *Biographical Dictionary,* Edit. de Slane, (Paris 1843); *Les Penseurs de l'Islām,* Carra de Vaux, (Geuthner 1921); *A Literary History of the Arabs,* R. A. Nicholson (T. Fisher Unwin 1923); *History of the Arabs,* Philip K. Hitti (Macmillan 1949); *Fī Adab Miṣr al-Fāṭimiyyah* and *al-Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyyah,* Mohamed Kamel Ḥussain, (Dār al-Fikr al-ᶜArabī).

great scientific works of the Greeks, Romans, Indians and Persians, including the metaphysical theories of the Greek philosophers.

The members of the Ismāᶜīlī movement in general and the Fāṭimids in particular were greatly interested in these scientific and philosophical studies. In A.D. 1005 the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim founded the Dār al-Ḥikmah at Cairo, to rival the Bayt al-Ḥikmah at Baghdād. As two famous astronomers named ᶜAlī ibn-Yūnus and Ibn-al-Haytham were attached to his court, he also built an observatory on the Muqaṭṭam Hills.

One of the subjects which greatly appealed to the Muslims was metaphysics, which was often studied with the other sciences. During the first half of the ninth century al-Kindī, who was called the "Philosopher of the Arabs," became interested in metaphysics, especially in Neo-Platonic interpretations of Plato and Aristotle.

About the same time al-Fārābī devoted himself in a particular way to a study of Aristotle and attempted to harmonize his ideas with those of Plato. He also endeavored to coordinate Greek metaphysical ideas with the revelations of Islām. Unfortunately he believed that a Neo-Platonic treatise on the theology of Aristotle was written by the great philosopher himself, so that he had a distorted conception of Aristotle's works.

The great medical authority al-Rāzī also was interested in metaphysics. He asserted the existence of five eternal principles: the Creator, the Soul, Matter, Time and Space. For him the world was not eternal, but created as the result of these principles. To escape from the world man must use his intelligence. Although the Fāṭimids were not greatly influenced by the metaphysics of al-Rāzī, there is a similarity between some of his ideas and their own. They were also indebted to him because of his brilliant achievements in the realm of medicine.

They were probably more directly influenced by Ibn-Sīnā, who was the son of an Ismāᶜīlī and lived from A.D. 980 to 1037. It was he who brought philosophy to its true fruition at the end of four centuries of Muslim development. His system combined Neo-Platonic and Aristotelian theories with Persian mysticism. He wrote books on metaphysics in addition to his great medical "Qānūn" and his works on the other sciences. He believed that truth must be obtained by intuition, as it cannot be proved. He had a new conception of the finite, or "positive being," and of the infinite, "necessary being." The finite can exist only in relation to the infinite. Reality becomes known through a process of derivation, as the finite is evolved from the infinite. Ibn-Sīnā believed that the first stage of emanation was the "flowing out of the first intelligence from God." But his other steps in creation were so complicated by mathematical principles that they had little influence on Fāṭimid reasoning about this particular matter.

Muslim thought as a whole was greatly affected by the teachings of al-Ghazzālī, but as he lived in Irān after the golden period of Fāṭimid

learning, the important Fāṭimid scholars in Egypt were not greatly influenced by his ideas.

The great philosophers of Andalusia, ibn-Bājjah, ibn-Ṭufayl, ibn-Rushd and Maimonides, also lived too late to make important contributions to Fāṭimid metaphysics.

When the Muslims studied Aristotle they found themselves facing a dilemma. The basic belief in Islām is unity, whereas Aristotle fails to give a comprehensive view of the universe which confirms the idea of "Oneness." He thought of matter as eternal and therefore not one with God. How, therefore, could God as pure intelligence create or affect human individuals and the sensory phenomena?

From what has already been said it is clear that many of the Muslim philosophers turned to Neo-Platonism for their answer. Thus they held the theory that, in connection with phenomena apart from God, being is distinct from existence. God is the source of being and from Him the empirical world flows like a stream of being.

Plotinus explained these principles to his fellow Neo-Platonists by saying that there emanates from the Original Being the "Nous" or "Intellect," which is the "Idea" or archytype of all sensible phenomena. The contact between the "Nous" and the finite world is made by another emanation called "Universal Soul" which embraces innumerable individual souls. Thus the universe is a stream of being, emanating from God, the inexhaustible source.

Moreover, a law of causation runs through the universe, determining everything potent as soon as it becomes actual. Thus the material human mind gains the power of thought, and by divine inspiration the mind of the prophet is given exceptional knowledge.

Although the Fāṭimid philosophers were directly affected by these ideas, they did not accept Plotinus' doctrine that the soul must find freedom from matter and return to God by means of mystical ecstasy.

One of the most important expressions of these theories was a collection of writings called "The Epistles (*Rasāʾil*) of the Brothers of Purity" which became known at the end of the tenth century and summed up the Muslim knowledge of science and philosophy. [2] They were written under the auspices of a society known as *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ wa Khullān al-Wafāʾ*. Some of the Ismāʿīlī traditions claim that this society was started by ʿAbd-Allāh, the grandson of the sixth Shīʿite Imām, as a fraternity for his propaganda agents and that his son, Aḥmad, known as al-Wāfī, wrote many of the treatises.

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[2] *Les Penseurs de l'Islam,* Tome IV, pp. 102; *A Guide to Ismaili Literature,* V. A. Ivanow (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc. 1933), pp. 30, 31; *Arabic Thought and its Place in History,* De Lacy O'Leary (Routledge & Kegan Paul 1954), pp. 165; *Enc. of Islām* (1934) Vol. II, pp. 459; *Histoire de Philosophes,* Gustave Dugat (Maisonneuve 1878), pp. 158; *Studies in a Mosque,* Stanley Lane-Poole, (W. H. Allen 1883), pp. 182-207, which includes a summary of the Seventh Epistle about emanations.

A leading authority in Cairo thinks that this society may have been formed by Ismāʿīlī agents who were centered at al-Baṣrah, with al-Kirmānī as their leader and the principal author of their treatises. Although we do not really know who the Brothers of Purity were, it seems certain that they had an intimate connection with the Ismāʿīlī movement. *

Casanova confirmed this fact when he wrote, "I believe it to be the truth when I say that the philosophical doctrines of the Ismāʿīlīyah are contained in their entirety in the 'Epistles of the Brothers of Purity.' " [3]

There were fifty-two of these treatises, arranged in four groups and containing a summary of the scientific and philosophical studies, which were current at the time when the Fāṭimids were turning al-Azhar and Dār al-Ḥikmah into centers of learning. A separate composition in two volumes called "*Al-Risālah al-Jāmiʿah*" formed an esoteric and philosophical synopsis of the longer work.

Although the Brothers of Purity were influenced by mysticism, their aim was to emancipate the soul from matter by means of intellect rather than by ecstasy. They did not do away with the Qurʾān, but they realized that it had to be supplemented if it was to win the respect of non-Muslim scholars. As they did not wish to upset simple people by metaphysical discussion, they limited their activities to an intellectual élite.

In the same way the Fāṭimids did not allow their philosophy to interfere with the studies which were based upon the Qurʾān. They rather built on the conventional Muslim sciences a superstructure of learning for the élite, composed of scientific and metaphysical material. Like the Brothers of Purity they also encouraged the acquisition of knowledge by reason in the place of mystical practices.

The following passages from Ivanow's writings throw a great deal of light on the Fāṭimid system. With the Fāṭimids "All mysticism, belief in miracles, wild eschatological, cosmogonical, and other fantasies, are rigorously excluded." "The Fāṭimid theology, in the proper sense of the word, in what is perhaps not very correctly called 'esoteric' doctrine, naturally intended only for the properly educated 'brains' of the community, was a religious philosophy, surprisingly rationalistic and modern in spirit. It was a synthetic system in which Aristotle and Plato, the data of Greek science, and the methods of Greek philosophy were all mobilized to produce a rationalistic basis, interpretation, and justification of the revealed doctrine of Islām." [4]

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* (For another interpretation of this theory see article in this issue by Ismāʿīl Rāgī al-Farūqī. *Ed.*)

[3] *Journal Asiatique* (1898), pp. 151. The present day Ismāʿīlīs call the Epistles "al-Rasāʾil al-Sharīfah" and "The Ladder of Salvation". (See *"A Guide to Ismaili Literature,* pp. 30, 31.)

[4] *The Alleged Founder of Ismailism,* V. A. Ivanow (Thacker, Bombay, 1946), pp. 140, 141.

Like other Islamic systems the Fāṭimid metaphysics began with Allāh. "The first of the doctrines of Almighty God is knowledge of Him. The completion of this knowledge is His oneness. The character of His oneness is incompatible with any attribute." [5]

The language of the Qurʾān is so poetic that it often uses metaphors which seem to imply that Allāh has hands, feet, eyes, ears and other human characteristics. The Fāṭimids rejected everything of an anthropomorphic character and interpreted these passages in a spiritual way. When, for instance, the Qurʾān said about God that "His throne extendeth over the heavens and the earth," the word "throne" was interpreted as "knowledge" and "knowledge" in turn was identified with an emanation from God. [6]

The Fāṭimid dogma upholds belief in "One transcendent Deity, beyond the comprehension of mortals in its substance, which is inexplicable because our definitions based on the experience of the material world are not applicable to It." [7]

According to the Qurʾān, when Allāh wills anything, He has but to say the word "Be," and it is. [8] In Fāṭimid theory, the Arabic word "BE" is written with the consonants "K" and "N." The first letter "K" stood for the first emanation from Allāh, which was the Universal Intelligence (*al-ʿaql al-awwal*). The second letter "N" stood for another emanation, which was the Universal Soul (*al-nafs*).

All of the important Fāṭimid writers agreed that the creation of the finite from the infinite depended upon emanations, although they were not always clear about the nature and number of these outflowings from God. The emanation called "Intelligence (*al-ʿaql*) was also referred to as the [9] "Pen" (*al-qalam*) and it resembled the Logos as a creative agent. Another emanation called the "Soul" (*al-nafs*) or the "Tablet" (*al-lawḥ*) was similar to the Universal Soul of the Neo-Platonists. According to some writers there were other emanations called "Formless Matter" (*al-hayūlā*), "Temperament" (*al-ṭabīʿah*), and "Substance" (*al-jasm*). Certain scholars stated that all of these emanations flowed forth simultaneously. They were reminiscent of al-Rāzī's five eternal principles, though actually different. The Qurʾān itself was not an emanation of Logos, rather the Speech of Allāh, like Him pre-existent.

This system of emanations, which formed a fundamental part of Fāṭimid metaphysics, has been described by O'Leary in the following way. "God is above all knowledge and above all of the categories of

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[5] Al-Ṣulayhiyyūn, Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī, (Al-Risālah Press, Cairo, 1955), pp. 246.

[6] *Qurʾān*, II — 255 & XX — 5.

[7] *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism*, V. A. Ivanow, (Brill, 1952), pp. 45.

[8] *Qurʾān*, II — 117. See also *Fī Adab Miṣr*, pp. 10, 11. (Al-Nafs was also called Nafs al-Kull and al-ʿAql al-Thānī.)

[9] For al-Qalam see *Qurʾān*, LXVIII — 1 & XCVI — 4. For al-Lawḥ, LXXXV — 22.

human thought. From God proceeds the *ᶜaql*, or intelligence, a complete spiritual emanation which contains in itself forms of all things, and from the *ᶜaql* proceeds the universal soul, and from the soul comes primal matter, and from that the universe proceeds. The universal soul permeates all matter and is itself sustained by the perpetual emanation of itself from the *ᶜaql*. This universal soul permeating all things yet remains one: but each individual thing has a part-soul having a varying degree of intellectual capacity. The union of soul and matter is temporary; by wisdom and faith the soul tends to be set free from its material fetters, and so to approach nearer to the present spirit or *ᶜaql*. The right aim in life is the emancipation of the soul from matter." [10]

The most important treatise on the Fāṭimid theory of emanations is *Rāḥah al-ᶜaql* by Aḥmad Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī. The book is divided into seven parts, like the seven celestial spheres, so as to give an impression of universality. Worship has two phases: action and intelligence. This book deals with the phase of intelligence. It gives accounts of metaphysical subjects and weaves Fāṭimid ideology into the philosophical reasoning in a subtle way. As al-Kirmānī knew the writings of Aristotle, Plato and the Neo-Platonists, his work was accepted by his contemporaries as an authoritative statement.

In order to understand the book it is necessary to realize that during the period when the members of the Ismāᶜīlī movement were being hunted by the police, they built up an elaborate system of symbolism and allegory. This system developed into a complex and mystic code of metaphysics which was imparted only to an intellectual élite. The contents of *Rāḥah al-ᶜaql* may seem to be fantastic, but we must remember that, instead of thinking in terms of modern astronomy and physics, the Mediaeval peoples thought in terms of concentric spheres to which the stars, planets, sun and moon were affixed. "The forces which produce the rotation of the spheres were associated with the different emanations of the Divine Source of Being." [11] The superstitious people thought that not only angels, but also holy ascetics, guard the world and maintain its purity.

To go one step further, each type of missionary agent (*dāᶜī*), who served the Fāṭimids and was a member of their hierarchy, had a symbolic connection with some realm of the physical universe. Thus *Rāḥah al-ᶜaql* is an exceedingly complicated book, which can only be understood in connection with Mediaeval ideas and Fāṭimid ideology. As it was the authoritative statement of one of the leading officers of the Fāṭimid regime, it is one of the most important existing descriptions of the Fāṭimid metaphysics.

According to *Rāḥah al-ᶜaql* Allāh is not created. He has no essence

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[10] *Arabic Thought and its Place in History*, pp. 165.

[11] Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Soc., (Arthur Pronsthain, London), Vol. 15, 1939, pp. 7, 8.

or breadth. He has no attribute or body; no thought or feeling; no form or substance. Nothing material emanates directly from Him. He is not, therefore, knowing or temperamental. Nothing is similar to Him or opposite to Him. Allāh is the first principle and out of His nature He turns nothingness into existence. "He is Allāh and besides Him there is no deity. Non-existence is for Him inconsistent, for if He were non-existent, phenomena would also be non-existent." The divine existence is therefore like that of heat or motion, which only have being as they produce tangible effects.

God's existence does not reveal itself, as the philosophers say, by emanation, but rather by origination. Vatikiotis has explained this point by saying, "Universal Reason or First Intelligence was created by God voluntarily and 'ex nihilo,' outside of time and space. It was brought into being not through emanation (*fayḍ*) but through *ibdāᶜ*: an act of complete creation at once, having no previous similitude to itself." [12] Origination is not like the radiation of light from the sun, which depends upon a material basis, but like intelligence, which is inherent in a non-material and formless existence.

According to the author of *Rāḥah al-ᶜaql* the potency in divine being (*ibdāᶜ*) was the First Origination (*al-mubdaᶜ al-awwal*), also called the First Intelligence (*al-ᶜaql al-awwal*). Then there were the two outflowings from the First Origination, which the author explained by means of the following diagram. [13]

The First Origination
(*al-mubdaᶜ al-awwal*)

The First Outflowing (*al-munbaᶜith al-awwal*)	The Second Outflowing (*al-munbaᶜith al-thānī*)
Also called the Second Intelligence and the Pen (*al-qalam*). Like the First Origination this was not contaminated by creation of matter, but denoted action and produced the angels and guardians of the world.	Also called the Tablet (*al-lawḥ*). It comprised Form (*al-ṣūrah*) and Formless Matter (*al-hayūlā*), denoting power; producing the natural firmament.

The spiritual existences and natural phenomena were derived from these two phases of creation.

Rāḥah al-ᶜaql gives a very long and complicated account to explain these processes of creation. It compares the Divine Being with the

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[12] *The Fatimid Theory of State,* P. J. Vatikiotis, (Orientalia, Lahore), pp. 81.

[13] The material about emanations is from *Kitāb Rāḥah al-ᶜAql,* Aḥmad Ḥamīd-al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, Edit. Mohamed Kamel Hussain & Mustafa Hilmy, (Brill & Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrī) 1952-1953).

center of a wheel, giving forth power, creation, knowledge, eternal time, unity, perfection, truth and other things. Numerous diagrams are given to illustrate the theories and to relate them to phases of Fāṭimid ideology.

When, for instance, motion occurred, it was in three aspects: origination, outflowing and happening, none of which existed in time. These gave being to the phenomena which do exist within the limits of time, one after another. Formless Matter (*al-Hayūlā*) and Form (*al-Ṣūrah*) are in essence a unity, but as substance they are multiple, both in the realm of nature and of religion. The realm of natural phenomena is the "World of Divine Formation," while the realm of religion is the "World of Prophetic Formation." These realms may be compared in accordance with the folowing sequences:

	World of Nature	*World of Religion*
1.	The Celestial Realm	Revelation (*Qurʾān*)
2.	Sphere of Forms of Phenomena	*al-sharīᶜah*
3.	Sphere of Saturn	Confession of Faith *Lā ilāha illā Allāh*
4.	„ „ Jupiter	Ritual Purity (*al-ṭahārah*)
5.	„ „ Mars	Prayer (*al-ṣalāt*)
6.	„ „ the Sun	Poor Tax (*al-zakāt*)
7.	„ „ Venus	The Fast (*al-ṣawm*)
8.	„ „ Mercury	The Pilgrimage (*al-ḥajj*)
9.	„ „ the Moon	The Holy War (*al-jihād*)
10.	„ „ Fire	Obedience (*al-ṭāᶜah*)
11.	„ „ Air	The Lawful (*al-ḥalāl*)
12.	„ „ Water	The Taboo (*al-ḥarām*)
13.	„ „ Earth	Judgments (*al-aḥkām*)

Rāḥah al-ᶜaql gives long and intricate explanations of the interaction of fire, air, water and earth with minerals, plants and animals. There are also remarks about the intrinsic essence and religious significance of the human and prophetic souls. Man's brain begins as a "tabula rasa" and slowly develops in a way which suggests modern pragmatism.

The relationships of the Prophet Muḥammad, his son-in-law ᶜAlī, the Imāms and their propaganda agents are compared with the interactions of the organs of the body. Other comparisons between the spheres of nature and the Fāṭimid hierarchy have already been quoted in a previous article of this series.

In addition to these metaphysical theories about emanation and creation, the Fāṭimids had a doctrine similar to Plato's theory of "Ideas." In connection with this dogma they may have been influenced by Philo,

when he conceived of God as a being without quality or movement, having contact with the finite world through an infinite variety of divine forces, which were similar to the "Forms" or "Ideas" of Plato. The unity of the individual ideas constituted the "Logos" or "Intelligence," which was the first emanation and the creative force.

Whether the Fāṭimids derived their theory of "Ideas" directly from Plato or through Philo, it was one of the important dogmas of their metaphysical system. In the Qurʾān it is written, "We have set forth for the people in this Qurʾān every kind of "*mathal*" that they may remember." [14] As this word "*mathal*" was used in the Qurʾān, it served as a basis for philosophical discussion without seeming to deny revelation. Although the word "*mathal*" usually means "maxim," the Fāṭimid scholars used it to stand for an individual, finite thing.

The "*mathal*" is the phenomenon which is evident (*ẓāhir*), appearing in finite form for all to see. Connecting this "*mathal*" with the creative emanations from God, there must be a model (*mamthūl*), which is unseen (*bāṭin*) like the "Idea" of Plato.

When this doctrine was interpreted in an allegorical way, it gave great prestige to the Fāṭimid movement. The Universal Intelligence was, for instance, an "Idea" (*mamthūl*) which was represented on earth by a "*mathal*", the Prophet Muḥammad. Similarly the Universal Soul was an "Idea" represented by the Imām ʿĀlī as its "*mathal.*" The three angels, Isrāfīl, Mīkāl and Jibrīl, who served as mediums to pass on the speech of Allāh to the Prophet, were also "Ideas." Their counterparts on earth were the Fāṭimid leaders. Thus ʿĀlī was able to say, "I and Muḥammad, we are from one light, from the light of Allāh Almighty." [15] And it was this light which the Imāms inherited.

The Fāṭimids were not extremists like the members of some of the other branches of the Ismāʿīliyyah, for they did not believe in the divinity of the Imām, or in transmigration, metempsychosis, or annihilation. They did teach, however, that there are certain visible substances like earth, air, fire and water, as well as hidden subleties like the rational spirits. Man is a miniature world of matter in which his body is substance, and at the same time a miniature world of sublety with a soul and a mind.

With his body man prays towards the Kaʿbah, whereas with his mind he prays towards the Imām. At death the body is returned to clay, while the soul is released as a spirit. The Imām is not himself a god, but in the world of subtlety his mind is an earthly counterpart (*mathal*) of the metaphysical Idea (*mamthūl*), of the Universal Mind.

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[14] *Qurʾān,* XXXIX — 27. See also *Nāẓiriyyah al-Mathal waʾl-Mamthūl* (Eleventh Congress of Orientalists, Paris, 1948); *Diwan al-Muʾayyad fī al-Dīn,* (Dār al-Kātib al-Miṣri, 1949); *Fī Adab Miṣr,* and *Al-Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyyah,* all four books issued by Mohamed Kamel Hussain. Modern Arab Philosophers use the forms *muthul* & *mithāl* for *mathal* & *mamthūl.*

[15] *Dīwān al-Muʾayyad fī al-Dīn,* pp. 76, 98.

Thus he possesses all that is involved in the ninety-nine names of Allāh.

In other words the Imām is not divine, but he receives the power to rule from the angels and knowledge from the spiritual forces which control the world. It is only, therefore, from the Imām that a Muslim can receive a true interpretation of learning. Certain Greek philosophers said that man can see only by the light of the sun. In the same way the Muslim can gain understanding only by means of the knowledge of the Imām.

The Prophet is supposed to have said "I am the city of knowledge and ᶜAlī is its gate. Whoever seeks the city, let him approach it by the gate." [16] As the successor of ᶜAlī, the Imām of each generation is like *al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm,* the straight bridge which leads true believers across hell to paradise.

Like all Muslims the Fāṭimids had a great respect for Jesus as a prophet. Unlike the orthodox believers they even acknowledged that Jesus was crucified. [17] One great scholar likened the Imām ᶜAlī to the Messiah. "People differed about Christ in three different ways. One group said he was God and the Son of God. They were the Christians. Another group said he was a child of adultery. They were the Jews. Still another group said he was an apostle of God. It was they who were correct." [18]

"People also differed about ᶜAlī in three similar ways. One group said about him what the Christians said about Christ. They were the Ghulāh (who deified ᶜAlī). Another group said that he was the brother and appointed heir of the Prophet of God. It was they who were right. Still another group prevented him from receiving his right and inheritance, just as a child of adultery is prevented from receiving his father's inheritance. These were the opponents."

These examples show how the Fāṭimids used their metaphysics to confirm their special form of ideology and how they interpreted philosophical and religious beliefs to strengthen faith in their ruling Imām or Caliph, as the heir to the sanctity of the Prophet and ᶜAlī. Although in a short article it is impossible to deal with the philosophy of the Fāṭimids in an adequate way, it is hoped that enough has been said to make a number of points clear.

In the first place, when the Muslims translated the Greek books on science and philosophy into Arabic, it caused an important intellectual renaissance. Then secondly, this interest in science and philosophy was greatly encouraged by the Fāṭimids, as we know from the writings of scholars like al-Kirmānī, the palace lectures (*al-majālis*) and the founding of Dār al-Ḥikmah. In the third place, this interest in scientific study did not prevent the Fāṭimids from encouraging a knowledge of

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[16] Ibid. pp. 83.
[17] Information given by a Professor of Cairo University.
[18] *Dīwān al-Muʾayyad fi al-Dīn,* pp. 79.

the conventional subjects related to the Qurʾān. Fourthly, the Fāṭimids undoubtedly encouraged all of the classical sciences known in mediaeval times, such as mathematics, astronomy, physics, alchemy, geography, medicine, pharmacy, logic and the natural sciences. But they were especially interested in metaphysics, because it lent itself, as we have seen, to allegorical interpretation, by means of which it was possible to prove the divine right of the Imām.

This is the end of a series of articles about the Fāṭimids. Because Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and the Sunnites who followed him did everything in their power to destroy the books and to wreck the influence of the Fāṭimids, comparatively little has been known in the past about their science and culture. With the help of a number of experts, who are studying the Ismāʿīlī manuscripts in India and al-Yaman, there is reason to hope that scholars will gain a clearer understanding of the Fāṭimid learning which flourished during an important period of history and may have exerted a considerable influence on the intellectual life of Mediaeval Europe.

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ON THE ETHICS OF THE BRETHREN OF PURITY

(Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ wa Khillān al-Wafāʾ)

IV

What does reason, with the concurrence of the Namus, command? What values does it provide for guidance of the will, once become conscious, which the Namus confirms?

An ethic designed to regulate and enable the will-to-live to realize its own ends is instinctive, "naturalistic." [64] As yet it is not ethical and, as we have seen, not free. To become free, the first prerequisite of this will is to become conscious of itself, to discover and see itself as it is; that is to say, it is necessary that willing take place as a free choice between alternatives. Certainly, an instinct operating under necessity, that is, naturally, may choose between several objects and several ways to reach them. But it cannot not choose to will the object which satisfies it best. When, on the other hand, instinct becomes conscious, every willing is a free choice between willing and not willing at all. Thus every act it performs is a decision made freely, not on the level of means and objects of that act but on that of the act itself where the possibility—nay the repudiation of its not-being at all—is always implied.

This state of sentience is one of freedom "against" oneself. For when one's own willing becomes an object for deliberation and a matter for decision, obviously it can no longer dictate. It no longer furnishes the standards by which the decision is made for or against it and this is precisely what constitutes the freedom of willing that the determinants of the will come not from itself, but from outside, and that the will submit to such determinants unconditionally. What are these determinants?

The first command is that man should recognize the one God and, having done so, worship him alone (*ʿIbādah, tawḥīd*) and "seek His face." In ethical terms, this means the commitment of one's total being to the love and pursuit of value. To recognize God is to recognize that the pursuit of values as ends is man's ethical vocation [65] and to recognize for what they are the values for which He stands; [66] to become a Muslim is to surrender one's will to be determined by them; [67] to seek His face is to seek to realize those values in every given situation. [68] From the standpoint of ethics, *Tawḥīd* is in final analysis the study of the theory of value. For commitment can only be a free choice, a decision; and this implies knowledge of that in favour of which the

[64] *Rasāʾil,* Vol. III, p. 335.
[65] *Ibid.,* Vol. X, p. 83.
[66] *Ibid.,* pp. 83-4.
[67] *Ibid.,* p. 73.
[68] *Ibid.,* pp. 76-77.

decision is taken. Islam is unique in this that the pursuit of knowledge is itself worship. However, it is not the case [69] that the pursuit of any value as end is Islam and therefore ethical, for what is required here is the commitment of one's whole life not to a value, nor to many values no matter how high or final these may be, but to the whole realm of value as such. [70] To fall under the tyranny of any one value or values and to allow them to monopolize one's will is not ethical, though it may be good and indeed, to that particular measure of the value in question, ethically good. But to dedicate one's life to value, to all value whatever its inner hierarchy, is to give ethical significance to one's life, to become human and "pious" and the degree of enthusiasm, sincerity, and comprehensiveness of the dedication is the level of piety, felicity and blessedness.

We should not forget that in the thought of Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', ethical being is contrasted with natural being. They regarded human nature as something to be tamed, disciplined and guided, but not condemnable. Only its excesses and wild outbursts are so, never itself as such. [71] Once brought under the government of reason, and hence under the Namus, the endowments of nature become genuine goods the enjoyment of which is both healthy and normally desirable. Hence, they go beyond Plato and the Greeks whose *harmonia* between appetitive and rational functions of the soul brings all the tensions under control but keeps the moral quality of the former as evil as it was before. Indeed the Ikhwān regard the enjoyment of these propensities of nature, once the decision is reached for the ethical commitment of all one's being to the realm of value as such, as an advance-payment, by God, on the credit of paradisaical joy to come, transformed into the worldly nature possible in the life below. Hence, they have none of the acidity which characterizes the asceticism of many of their Muslim and Christian colleagues. [72] The ethical commitment renders such enmity to "nature"

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[69] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

[71] This is no lack of awareness of the turbulence and insatiable nature of our instincts, which they describe with an insight and eloquence surpassing those of a Schopenhauer. "I have found myself," they write, "composed of firebrand passions imbedded in sulphuric bodies... whose flames are inextinguishable—like the huge waves of the sea that sweep everything before them; hunger bestirs eternally to make me fall on its object like a starved wolf; the fire of my ambition and anger would fain consume the world, that of my pride regards myself as the best of all and mankind as my slaves and agents whose necessary and sole duty is to obey me ... Its desire to recreation makes of myself a mad, drunken god; its love of praise, the most virtuous and worthiest of all; its passion for vengeance weighs on it like a tremendous mountain... Looking closer at this self of mime, I have found that it is all raging flames and inextinguishable fire, perpetual fighting and war between irreconcilable elements, incurable disease, unabatable anxiety, struggle incessant—except in death." (*Rasā'il,* Vol. III, pp. 368-9.)

[72] They make one of their pious declare, in a dialogue with a Christian ascete self-locked in an inaccessibly high cave, that, for them, it is a pleasure to live in this world as well as to deny its passions; for as they become more desirous of the spiritual kingdom, whose joys far surpass those of this world, the pains of

unnecessary. Nature is never evil *per se*, but only when divorced from the realm of moral value and, as it were, pursued for its own sake. Under the ethical commitment, nature would be pursued as before; but the principles regulating its pursuit, being of rational and divine provenance and, therefore, foreign to it, transfigure it as they subject it to their own determination.

There is no road to heaven other than this world; [73] and the whole thrust of the matter is how to conduct oneself on this road. To pursue the world for itself is the height of ethical evil, but to seek to realize value in this world is the height of ethical goodness. The difference between the two pursuits is that the latter allows the seeking of the world only as means for the realization of value as such and would deny it wherever it violates any value higher than that which is specifically its own. But since the realization of value demands the violation, to a greater or lesser extent, of some natural propensity, of some aspect of worldliness, it follows that the most beneficial exercise a man can do is that of ascetic denial so as to achieve complete self-mastery. This is easier to see in case the value in question is a higher moral value, like justice, brotherly love and charity — all of which require a good measure of self- and world-denial. The case of the other values is not so clear at first instance. However, even the worldly values conflict so much with one another that it is impossible to realize any one value without denying a whole number of natural desires. Moreover, every value, however inferior in rank, has a tendency to monopolize our striving to the exclusion — indeed, violation — of every other; and every natural propensity we have a tendency to seek its satisfaction at the cost of our other propensities which at times are constitutive of or complementary to itself. Once more, this means that our universe is built on such contradiction and tension between its component parts that to be in it at all requires a great skill at balancing them, at conditionally satisfaying, ignoring, denying and downright fighting one or the other. And, to be ethical, so many higher values will make such demands upon the worldliness and nature within us that we would have to exist in perpetual asceticism.

This is the lesson the Ikhwān sought to teach. It is immaterial that they talked of "God" where we talk of "value." The substance of the ethical element, that which ought to be done and hoped for, remains the same, namely, to contemplate, to seek and to do the good and for this end, to become conscious of existence and life, of willing and desiring, and to bring all passion, all will and all desire under the control of this consciousness, to suspend their impulsive activity, and

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worship and ethical striving become less and less effective, since to give up a lesse. joy for a greater and superior one is itself pleasant. (*Rasāʾil*, Vol. III, p. 342; Vol. X, pp. 33-4.)

[73] *Rasāʾil*, Vol. X, pp. 54-5.

put them, as it were, under the determination of "the good" in its general sense.[74]

Asceticism, therefore, is more than a necessary exercise at self-mastery; it is the road to goodness. There are no other roads thereto; for man, constituted as he is, has to deny his natural desires in order to achieve any goodness at all and to keep his very existence in check if he is to rise to any higher ethical goodness.[75] And the cosmos is so constituted that, for that higher goodness itself to be achieved, much of the lesser goodness as well as of the goodness-of-the-same-order has to be denied, so that the will to the good itself is at no less contradiction with itself than the will to live. It is not easy to resist attributing to God some malice in ordering reality in this fashion and the Ikhwān put this suspicion in the mouth of a disillusioned worshipper who, after surveying the plight of being pulled apart by several masters —all equally embedded in nature and equally appealing—breaks into these words: "O God, thou hast brought together contradictory elements, mutually pulling and repelling forces! I know no more what to do or how, lost as I am between them!"[76] To this appeal God responds first by enumerating the blessings He sent to man, particularly the faculties with which He has endowed him and which, by nature, are capable of steering man on to an ethical "middle" course.[77] He then reminds man that He has sent down His Namus in order to show him the right way when he erred. Finally, in a very reconciliatory mood, He reassures man that the deepest-lying contradictions are not there to be solved but to be lived in full consciousness of their contradictoriness.[78]

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[74] The Prophet is quoted as saying: "I wonder how he affords to laugh who knows that there is eternal fire, to do evil who knows that there is judgement, to trust in the world who knows its nature, and not to do the good who knows that there is another world." (*Rasāʾil,* Vol. III, p. 382.) "Whoever longs for paradise hastens to do the good; whoever fears the fire turns away from passion; and whoever denies the world, to him, there can be no tragedy. Denial of the world is the key to every good; the desire of it that of every evil." (*Rasāʾil,* Vol. III, p. 393.)

[75] To describe those who are at the apex of humanity, the Ikhwān quote the Prophet: "They followed a course so difficult that they caught up with the prophets; they preferred hunger, thirst and nakedness when God provided them with everything; they preferred to the world that which is of God; only their bodies were in this world, but their hearts were free of this world; at their obedience to and love of God even the angels marvel." (*Rasāʾil,* Vol. III, p. 379.) "Of them God Himself is proud and shows them off to the angels." (*ibid.,* p. 380.) "They seem to be diseased, but they are healthy; and they seem to be possessed, but they are possessed only by a great ideal; they seem to have lost their minds, but their minds are the keenest of all; their minds are bent upon a divine matter, and that is why they tread upon this earth as if without a mind. Theirs is the highest honour." (*ibid.,* p. 381.)

[76] *Rasāʾil,* Vol. III, p. 370.

[77] *Ibid.,* p. 371.

[78] "God therefore commands man, in case he is caught between them, to remember that God is God, that we are all returning unto Him, and to pray as Muhammad had prayed: 'Do not blame us, O Lord, if we forget or err, but forgive us as thou hast forgiven those that when before us ... May our hearts

Certainly, God could have created a value-full world to begin with, that is, one in which necessity brings about the realization of value with the certainty and regularity of natural law. But He chose to create an imperfect world because a world perfected by the ethical striving of man is a greater and worthier one. For, in such a world, the pursuit of value would have to be conscious, deliberate and free. Other moral values would be impossible if there were no more value to realize, no more imperfection to surmount. In short, the ethical commitment itself, the highest ethical value, would be unthinkable. Hence, a whole series of high moral values become possible which could not enter a perfect world without contradiction. An imperfect world perfected by man would be greater than a necessarily perfect one. For that is man's peculiar distinction among God's creatures: he is God's lieutenant; that is to say, he is the indispensable bridge which all higher value must cross to enter this world. Only by his agency can it ever become real, and it is in this sense that he too is a creator after a fashion.

Likewise, God need not to have created reason. The Namus alone is sufficient to realize His purpose. Just as, despite Divine omnipotence, it has seemed necessary to have man's moral agency to perfect the world, it would seem that a knowledge of the Namus would obviate the exercise of rationality, since the latter, if it is to be on the right track at all, would have to attain to the Namus and lead to its content. But the worth of a pursuit of value committed with premeditation, in deliberation and with rational conviction is superior to a pursuit of the same value committed on grounds of faith alone. Rational conviction after deliberation is itself an ethical value which would be absent in the alternative; and this is the insight of the common judgement, that the faith that comes after unbelief is better than that which has not gone through the tempering fire of doubt.

Moreover, the Namus and Reason are yet more intimately connected. In fact they are inseparable. For the elaboration of the Namus itself presupposes standards which reason alone could furnish and demands vindication and argument which reason alone could produce. The so-called ultimacy of the Namus is therefore compromised by the fact that, for it to be pursued, it has to be so freely, voluntarily; and this means that it must first enter the domain of reason where it will receive its credentials under reason's watchful eye and then proceed to determine ethical will. The Namus is therefore prior and absolutely final from the standpoint of axiological content but not from that of

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be never deflected from the true path that thou hast been good to show us and grant us mercy for thou art the source of all.'" (*Qurʾān,* Surah 3, Verse 8. *Rasāʾil,* Vol. III, pp. 372-3.)

epistemology.[79] From this latter standpoint the superiority of reason is established beyond question.[80]

Evidently the life of the Namus is ethical life *par excellence*; its values are the final values on which everything else depends. Whereas the elaboration of the objects of the will to live belongs properly to the sciences and the arts, to elaborate and understand the Namus is the proper business of moral science,[81] just as to follow it, to seek to identify oneself with its object is, properly speaking, ethical endeavour.[82]

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[79] ʿĀdil ʿAwwa has noted the agreement of the Ikhwān with the philosopher-poet al-Maʿarrī, a frequent attendant at their meetings in Baghdad, as to the supremacy of reason and it, rather than an unknown "Imām," being the first and best leader of men. He quotes Maʿarrī as saying: "Some people believe in the coming of a speaking (*i.e.*, rational) Imām to the dumb (*i.e.*, irrational) multitude. This theory is false. The Imām is none other than reason which enlightens men, morning and night, with its own light. (*L'Esprit Critique des Frères de la Pureté*, Beyrouth, 1948, p. 311.) See also Ṭaha Ḥussayn's *Dhikra Abil ʿAla*, Second Edition, Cairo, 1922, p. 167.

[80] Reason's character, they argue, is to discern correctly, to know truth and justice and to effect the final choice. Man is then "enjoined to choose, through an exercise of reason, the best course, the most worthy morality, the best deeds, the noblest pursuits". (*Rasāʾil*, Vol. III, p. 387.) "We on our part," write the Ikhwān, "have accepted reason as head of our association and arbiter of our contentions with one another. In fact, reason was elevated to this rank of presiding over the virtuous who obey the commandments of God by none other than God Himself. We have accepted this headship of reason on the conditions and terms set out in our *Rasāʾil* and which we have recommended to our brethren. Whoever rejects the superiority of reason, or the provisions which we have recorded, should be refused our friendship... Know that the righteously rational persons who join God and reason in determining their minds stand in no need for a head to command, prohibit and incriminate, because reason and providence do take the place of the guiding Imām." (*Rasāʾil*, Vol. X, p. 127, pp. 131-2.)

[81] *Rasāʾil*, Vol. II, p. 323.

[82] The will to a life guided and determined by the Namus, which neither supplants nor contradicts the will to a rational life of freedom but confirms and, as it were, builds over it, is the peak of ethical endeavour and is the prerogative of the few. (*Rasāʾil*, Vol. III, pp. 336-7.) To their order belong the ordained saints, awliyāʾ Allāh, and of their kind are the prophets, the messengers of God. (*Rasāʾil*, Vol. III, p. 337.)

JERUSALEM BYWAYS OF MEMORY

II

In a recent number of the *Muslim World* it was possible [1] to recall the activities and consequent "traditions" of some of the international group of missionaries from the Occident, who helped to make the history of the past century worth the telling. They were "characters." But there were personalities of the Near East as well — Orientals to be remembered gratefully for what they did and were. Since perforce they are seen through Western eyes, "Patriarchs" to begin with!

Immediately before and during the war years George Sloan was the Chairman of the United Missionary Council of Syria and Palestine. Gifted linguist, he spent his service in the Sea of Galilee Mission of the Church of Scotland. At the beginning of the war he sent a letter to the Archbishop of one of the Baltic States. The censorship authorities discovered that in all Palestine only George Sloan was capable of reading the letter he had written. He was asked not to do it again. As Chairman of the U.M.C. he was invited to visit mission centres in ᶜIrāq. He applied for a visa to the ᶜIrāqī Consulate General. He entered his status on the form as "Chairman of the United Missionary Council." The Diplomat, on seeing the phrase, observed, "I suppose this means you are rather like a Bishop." "Oh No," replied George, "much more like a Patriarch." He was granted a free visa and afforded all the amenities pertinent to a Patriarch.

After all, Patriarchs are as human as anyone else. Hanauer's story of the Patriarch admitted to heaven with a welcome largely because "we only get a Patriarch once in a thousand years" is sufficient testimony to their humanity. [2] We knew some of them in the flesh. There was the Armenian Patriarch whose English vocabulary was limited to two words, "peace" and "finish" — not always used appropriately. But he was a fine French scholar and historian. He kept one of the Deacons "hard at it" most of the day translating the *Cambridge Modern History* into Armenian. The Patriarch enjoyed being read to of an evening. What have British historians to say about this or that? There was, also, the popular Armenian Bishop in Cairo, friendly with all and sundry. He established a reputation for consistent celebration of all possible Christmases! So he spent the Western feast in his own diocese in Egypt, visiting the dignitaries of the various churches. This done, "he went up to Jerusalem" in good time for the Orthodox celebration of January sixth, but naturally remained on for that of his own community on January 19th. [3]

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[1] Vol. xlix. 2.

[2] Folklore of the Holy Land 237-40.

[3] January 19th is the "Feast of the Baptism" in the Orthodox Church; but the Armenian Church observed the Birth and the Baptism on the same day, with the tradition that our Lord was baptized on the anniversary of His Birth.

The Deacon already mentioned lived to be Patriarch himself. Of Persian Armenian stock from Julfa, he was partly educated in Bishop's College, Calcutta, an experience he was to relate long years after to the Ordination Candidates of the Army and the R.A.F., remarking that he had heard the Prayer Book so often that he probably knew it much better than they ever would! Through the years Jerusalem hardly knew him except as "Father Cyril." Before his elevation he was librarian of the Convent, and it was largely due to him that during the long curfew period in 1936 the present writer was able to lecture weekly to the Seminary students on "Christianity and Islam." In the last letter received from him in 1948 he explained how the Christian community in those tragic months were like people at the bottom of the well, who had friends at the top, but did not know when relief would come. This was reminiscent of a Japanese who had sent a letter which reached Jerusalem just before "Pearl Harbour," saying that the Christians were like people marooned in a jungle. Unable to look right or left, looking up was all they had. Armenian and Japanese are not so far apart!

What about the Greeks who have provided Jerusalem with Patriarchs in the "chair" of St. James for a millennium and more? We overlapped with two Greek Patriarchs, Damianos and Timotheos. The former will always be in the picture with the services in St. George's on December ninth in commemoration of the surrender of Jerusalem to Allenby. This service, inaugurated by Bishop MacInnes, was attended by representatives of the three monotheistic faiths. Highly placed ecclesiastics shared in the service. The reading of the Gospel was naturally assigned to the Greek Orthodox Patriarch who was attended by a Deacon or two. The passage chosen was the Markan version of the Parable of the Sower. Two of the junior clergy were asked by the Bishop to help in looking after the Patriarch whose sight was failing and who in December usually suffered from a cold. It fell to the writer more than once to hold the spectacle case, when the Patriarch read the Gospel from the archway of the sanctuary. Olaf Thompson had the handkerchief on the other side and there was a deacon with the New Testament in Greek. Probably the three of us were the only ones who knew how it came about that the second Gospel occupied a position in the centre of the Book instead of near the begining. Not only more seemly was it to read from a book opening in the middle; but the Greek press in the city had printed the Parable in "large letters," the two pages being deftly inserted in the middle of the New Testament. Damianos had the reputation of knowing his own mind and expecting other people to know theirs. This was very necessary when things ecclesiastical were being rebuilt. It was said that when each of three families in a rather large village produced its own candidate for the priesthood, to care for the village flock, and no family would surrender its right, the Patriarch ordained the three. They were to settle the con-

duct of the services among themselves and share the very slender emoluments.

Then came Timotheos, who, having lived in Manchester, knew English. He had an impressive simplicity. You could call on him unexpectedly on a Sunday afternoon in his garden on the Mount of Olives. He would be lying out on a deck-chair in an old cassock with his New Testament open on his knees. There was a large cage of birds with unusual plumage close by. Strutting about the olive grove were peacocks. This was reminiscent of the well-laid garden of the Mahdi ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān in Khartūm. The latter threw tidbits to his birds, but in the case of the Patriarch the birds would come and eat from his hands. If it was grape season, there was a friendly wave in the direction of his vineyard facing the Temple area; and you could help yourself and your companions to a bunch of patriarchal grapes apiece to be enjoyed then and there.

It was in the church close by that Dr. John R. Mott held in 1924 the conference of workers from the Muslim world; and not far away the huts were erected for the men who attended the International Missionary Council meeting in 1928. At the start of this there was a special session to which the prelates of the Eastern churches came. Damianos was still alive, and at the close of the session was invited by Dr. Mott to "bless" the assembled delegates. He did this willingly as the "highest" of the Jerusalem clergy, only to be reproached afterwards somewhat facetiously by the Samaritan High Priest of that time who claimed that, as the descendant of the senior ecclesiastical dignitary in Palestine by many centuries, the privilege of blessing was really his! The Samaritans often chose to regard themselves as Neo-Christian. At the funeral of the Bishop in Jerusalem during the war they insisted on walking to the cemetery on Mount Zion with the Anglican clergy, not with the Rabbis or Shaikhs, or the delegates from the Eastern churches. Gerizim was still as good as Jerusalem!

But it was naturally the Palestinian clergy, of a ministry promoted so largely through the work of the Church Missionary Society, who were in closest touch with the missionary community. It will not be considered invidious to select just a few. They are, or were, among the most respected Christian leaders in the country before the first World War. This was due in part to their education which introduced them to English. At least two came near to death at the hands of the Turks just because of their contact with the British. Canon Ibrāhīm Bāz Ḥaddād used to tell us how all through the war, from November 1914, there was a row of Turkish officers in the pew beneath the pulpit just listening in case...! He was one of the couple of Palestinians ordained by Bishop Hannington in Jerusalem on the way to Uganda which the Bishop never reached. It was Ibrāhīm Bāz who visited the wounded British in the hospital, and buried those who died, before the surrender to Allenby. But the leading role of these men was also due

to an education based almost entirely on the Bible as the chief textbook, and the missionary magazines which introduced them to the outside world as little else could. In postwar days they wished that the custom of sending these magazines to "native workers" had been continued. One of the early clergy ordained by Bishop Blyth was to become father of the first Christian to be chosen Foreign Minister in the Kingdom of Jordan.

Probably the most colourful who lasted well into the postwar decades was Asʿad Manṣūr, whom one of the British Chaplains, Charles Steer, likened to "one of the apostles." Of Galilean origin, he might well have been a descendant. His main work was in Nazareth whence he could survey the whole Plain of Jezreel (Esdraelon). His sermon in English one Sunday evening in 1924 on Dothan and Elisha is one that has been well remembered. Asʿad Manṣūr, who kept a hyena as a pet on the balcony of the parsonage, was a friend of George Adam Smith, whom he quite failed to convince that *Tel Ḥūm* was the site of Capernaum. It was Manṣūr who seems to have been the first to suggest *Baitūnia* as *Bethaven* in contrast to *Baitīl* (*Bethel*).[4] He wrote one of the few books in Arabic on the geography of the Holy Land. It may have been his early interest in this "science" that evoked a later obsession for studying the underground system of the City of London. He paid but one visit to Britain; and on returning to Palestine he delivered lectures in Arabic on the ramifications of the C.L.R., District and Northern Lines and all the rest. He was brave enough to rise in the Tent at the Keswick Convention and protest against the supposed connection of the Lord's Return with Jewish immigration into Palestine. He hailed from the village of Shef Amru — the family possessed a Tell not very far from the village — where the C.M.S. was instrumental in building the first of the Anglican village churches, one dedicated to St. Andrew. There was a drenching day in Jerusalem for the Jubilee service of and in St. Paul's church. Canon Manṣūr was the preacher and he recounted the various churches built through C.M.S. help over the years. But he forgot the first, the church in his own Shef Amru. Not so Miss Lawford, whose home it had been for decades, for when the clergy were disrobing in the Mission House opposite, she entered brandishing a dripping umbrella in the face of the preacher as he emerged from the folds of a lengthy surplice, muttering the while, "You naughty boy! How dare you forget Shef Amru?" There was a third sermon of Manṣūr's which was faithfully recorded in the personal history of one hearer. It was at his installation in St. George's Cathedral, the successor to Ibrāhīm Bāz as the Arab Canon. The text was Isaiah 26 : 2:

> "Open ye the gates,
> that the righteous nation
> which keepeth truth may enter in."

[4] See Amos 5 : 5. See Interpreter's Bible 6.811.

The "hearer" wrote about this sermon. He was later sent for ordination to Oxford, the first Muslim convert ordained in the Anglican Church in Palestine. Canon Manṣūr likewise was the preacher when, with two others, Simᶜan Dibuny was ordained in St. John's, Haifa. Simᶜan too could preach, and from a background denied to other clergy. It was Herbert Danby, later Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, who said, after reading the Ordination Examination Papers of Simᶜan Dibuny, that what he liked about him was that he wrote as a Christian, but that his mould of thought was stil Islamic. There seems wisdom and judgment here for the coming encounter of Christendom and Islam in and out of the Arab world, in days when Manṣūr might not have been so sanguine of the future, when "truth is fallen in the street and uprightness cannot enter." [5]

There are still other clergy, incidents in whose lives probably remain embedded in the memories of friends. Canon Hanauer was a master at Bishop Gobat School. He was "on duty" the day that Jacob Khader was brought for the first time, after two days travelling in the mud. It is no wonder that the first thing needed for the new boy was a bath from the master on duty. One Sunday morning fifty years later they remembered it as they reminisced after worship in the village of Bir Zait. There was Najīb El-Far who had a somewhat similar experience twenty years later than Khader, when, with his twin brother, who later became a doctor in the U.S.A., he came on a camel from El-Ḥuṣn in Transjordan — then more than two days journey. Greeted by the Headmaster, Frank Ellis, it was likewise the bathroom for the two small boys.

Najīb maintained the Palestinian tendency to believe in risks, if they were worth it. He went as far as attempting to avoid conscription by the Turks as the first World War loomed ahead. He started for the United States, but it was too late; he reached only as far as Gibraltar whence he returned to become a schoolmaster in the Orthodox School in Kerak. He was extracted from this position to become the first post-war ordinand in 1922. The congregations he served were always appreciative; and his large family, now scattered in two continents, revere a memory of childhood which began inside the Old City of Jerusalem, a rare experience for the families of Anglican clergy. He took one risk as a deacon, when a member of his congregation knew himself to be aproaching the end of life and requested a service of Holy Communion. The time was short and Najīb was unable to reach any of his seniors or an available C.M.S. missionary. So he took the service himself; but when the Bishop returned to Jerusalem, he rehearsed to him the story — and remained "justified."

E. W. Hamond, Principal of the Jerusalem Men's College, always

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[5] Isaiah 59 : 14.

contended that Najīb was not really "Palestinian"; for, coming from East Jordan, he must have been a Moabite. If so, and there were other reasons, he was descended from the Moab that has always looked across the Dead Sea into the Judean Desert below Bethlehem, with the memories of the Moabitess, Ruth, who became an ancestress of Jesus the Christ.

There was another scholar. Elias Marmura, who possessed such a grasp and flow of spontaneous Classical Arabic that he never seemed to have a note when in the pulpit. He was the first editor of the Church Magazine. He was secretary of the Church Council and its moving spirit so long that when he became its chairman he had to be reminded that, being no longer secretary, his first duty was to get other people to express themselves. It was he who put through the revised edition of the Prayer Book in Arabic and discovered, when the first copies of the bound edition arrived from Cairo, that there was a misprint in the Nicene Creed. This necessitated the reprinting of a whole page, the snipping out of the erroneous page from the already bound copies, and the substitution of the corrected page by careful insertion.

Canon Marmura was also a poet. He collected Palestinian Christmas carols and wrote some himself. His carols do not go outside the text of Scripture, as has happened for so long in a western Christendom and in a manner that risks taking Christmas out of history and clothing the simplicity of Bethlehem in legend or in myth.

We first knew Qassis Elias in Nablus, where he became *persona grata* with the Samaritan community. He learned Samaritan and used to show us his new Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch. It was in alternate lines with the Samaritan exemplar. But, alas, it disappeared in the tragic events of 1948 and yet remains to be found.

There was one unforgettable journey with Elias Marmura from Jerusalem to Nazareth, which was his native place. We were rounding the hairpin bends by Khān Lubban. The Unity of the Christian Church was "in the air." South India and the question of apostolic succession were being widely discussed. Elias Marmura was always the obvious representative of our community at conferences on Unity. Halfway down the bends he remarked with his usual conviction that it was not doctrine that kept him from any return to the Orthodox Church of his forbears but the current ease with which divorce was obtainable. There may be a point here worth remembering in days when, in conferences on Unity, matters of doctrine may loom larger than they should, for moral ones count too. What a man may do is as vital as what he may have been taught to think. How often in the days of impending tragedy and apprehensive foreboding it was not Marmura's political thinking that was upset, but his sense of the meaning of justice, as he had learned and understood it. This sense of justice was of course appreciated by others, Palestinian or foreign; it meant that he could take charge of situations which were tense and needed reconciliation,

whether of ideas or persons. The missionary world knew that in him scholarship and intelligence were combined with determination to put wrong things right. This may have been partly why the Bishop of Worcester, familiar with the Secretary of the Church Council when he himself was Secretary of the C.M.S., addressed him as Canon Marmura, and the letter was so read in public, when the canonry was not yet bestowed! It came too late when Qassis Elias was an invalid. But in the middle of the riots in 1929 there was a terrible accident on the road between Es-Salt and Amman, when a C.M.S. worker and his daughter were burned to death in the head-on collision of two cars. Elias Marmura was there as soon as possible. The funeral next day was one none present can forget. Qassis Elias presided. He spoke of the father and of his work on both sides of the Jordan and down on the Egyptian border. Feelings were stirred and hearts were torn. We waited to know what he would say about the girl. It was the right word, the Arabic of which remains through decades, that "Mary loved her father so much in life that she would not be parted from him in his death." That was all, and the cortege to the cemetery began. "And much people of the city was with" us, so many that the traffic on the Amman Road was halted.

According to some, Es-Salt is the site of *Ed* in Joshua 22 : 34, "the altar of witness." The derivation of the current name is said to come from the Latin *Saltus* (a wood). Be these things as they may, the city, now out of the running once more with the new road from Amman to Jerusalem, has always been important since the beginning of missionary work the best part of a century ago, not least in its having given more clergy to the Anglican Community, including our first Arab Bishop, than any other. When we first knew the place, the pastor was Nicola Abū Ḥāṭūm who had a reputation for knowing just how to deal with a headstrong people who had lived for generations with their houses built halfway up the mountain-side. At that time the Headmaster of the C.M.S. Boys' School was Jirius Salfītī, who was ordained in the middle twenties. It was he who related the story of the Arab preacher who had been told that no sermon could be reckoned a real sermon without three points. This preacher found himself confronted with a text on which he felt moved to preach: "Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world." [6] Resourceful and by no means nonplussed, he was equal to the occasion, and divided his subject into the required three headings, answering three questions as to "*why, wherefore* and *for what reason* Demas forsook the Apostle!" [7] *Salt* never lost the *savour* of the "humoresque." These men belonged to a generation of Christian witnesses fast disappearing, but, like the *Wadi Shaib,* which takes its

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[6] II Timothy 4 : 10.
[7] Arabic: *Limā, Limādhā* and *Li ayyi sabab.*

rise in *Salt* (possibly, too, *Gador* or *Gadara*) [8], and which we have known to be often in flood, their sons and daughters have been carried with their witness through the flood of world events to destinations and callings never envisaged when the twentieth century dawned.

Redhill, Surrey ERIC F. F. BISHOP

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[8] Dalman: *Sacred Sites and Ways.* 237 f. Salt can be spelled with or without the article.

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[1] Dagger (†) precedes writings on missions.
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BOOK REVIEWS

The Land and People of Egypt. By Zaki Naguib Mahmoud; J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia and New York, 1959; pp. 127, illustrations. $ 2.95.

This new book in Lippincott's series on Portraits of the Nations gives accurate and interesting information about the history and present way of life of our Egyptian neighbors. The author, a university professor, paints a broad picture of Egypt's peoples and their history in brief compass and easy attractive style. It is enjoyable reading.

The Nile River is the life of this ancient land, and the high-lights of early civilization as developed by the Pharaohs in this narrow fertile valley are attractively portrayed. Greco-Roman influence was dominant from the conquest of Alexander the Great until the middle of the seventh century of our era. Christianity was presumably introduced by St. Mark and spread rapidly through Egypt before the Arab conquest. The Arabs brought with them their language and religion, and today Egypt speaks Arabic and is predominantly Muslim. A brief explanation of Islamic history and beliefs, as here presented, will be of value to many readers.

The history of Egypt's middle ages is briefly summarized, and Egypt's place in the *Arabian Nights* is interestingly discussed.

The Modern age begins with Napoleon's Egyptian campaign and the founding of the Muhammad Ali dynasty. The Suez Canal, British occupation, intellectual reform led by Muhammad ʿAbduh, and nationalist political movements are described. The Revolution of 1952 exiled King Farouk and soon established a Republic which is working for Arab unity. The establishment of the United Arab Republic in 1958 is the first serious step toward real unity.

The city life of Cairo and Alexandria is told through history, legend, and the story of modern development. But the peasant is the true pillar of economic and social life, and the new and improved status of the peasant is sympathetically presented. Egypt receives about 60% of its annual income from agriculture.

Industry in Egypt was born during the First World War and received a great stimulus in the Second. Textiles, fertilizers, chemicals, and other goods are being produced in ever increasing quantities, and modern social legislation gives assurance of the welfare of industrial workers.

Education has been widely extended in recent years and Egypt is rapidly becoming literate. A good school system leads to the University where boys and girls find opportunity for professional and technical training. Girls' education is quite new, but has brought great good to the land. Science, literature, and art are being creatively developed by men who have torn the medieval cobwebs off the face of Egypt and brought her into the modern world.

Cairo, Egypt, U.A.R. WALTER J. SKELLIE

The Ideology of Pakistan and its Implementation. By Dr. Javid Iqbal, with a Foreword by Field-Marshall Mohammad Ayub Khan, Sh. Ghulam Ali and Sons, Lahore, 1959, pp. xiii, 176, Rs. 7 As. 8.

A book like this could not have appeared in the days before the new

regime of President Ayub Khan. The new President has a searching rather than boastful attitude towards Islam. The appearance of a statement from his pen in the form of a foreword to this book is most welcome, for thus by being prefixed to an important book it is offered as a more lasting food for thought than statements in newspapers.

The President humbly and honestly voices his confession: "... how to weld the people into unity is a matter which affects the realm of faith and spirit and to which I have not been able to find an effective answer so far, and yet it is imperative that an answer be found as soon as possible, ..." (p. ix). And again "... we have failed to define that ideology * in a simple and understandable form" (p. x).

These are manly and honest words. The President invited the leading intellectuals of Pakistan to seek answers. Dr. Javid Iqbal, a rising lawyer of Pakistan, writes this book in response to the President's call.

The most pertinent attitude of the book is found in its affirmation that the declaration of an Islamic Republic is the declaration not of an accomplishment but of an aspiration (pp. 17-18), and that being a *mu'min* is assumption of a responsibility and not of a boastful sense of achievement (p. 18).

The book denounces bigotry and calls the nation to tolerance and enlightenment. It urges that the history of "movement" and "change" in the tradition of Islam be emphasized more and more in the national curricula (p. 72) and that the modern history of Islam be given more attention than it has hitherto received (p. 74). It also favours the continued status of English in the country for many years to come (p. 67).

Likewise, it favours the vesting of authority in the judges of the Supreme Court of Pakistan to pronounce *fatwa* (verdict) on controversial religious issues (p. 21). It urges that jurists in Pakistan be equipped with thorough knowledge of Muslim *fiqh* (p. 6).

Hearty congratulations are due to the author for a highly readable and well-meaning book.

The following brief comments are offered to stimulate greater interest in a book which is intended not for arm-chair enjoyment but to arouse the nation's concern over its future destiny.

The author cites (p. 31) Iqbal's view: "The essence of *Tawhīd* as a working idea is equality, solidarity and freedom." We feel that this theological statement (cited again on pp. 45, 48 and 56) deserves some explanation without which it remains vague.

On pp. 1 and 75 the author applies the phrase "structural principles" to the doctrines of Unity of God and Finality of Muhammad. The meaning of the phrase in this usage is not clear.

On p. 85 the author affirms that Islam is a synthesis of the eastern and western outlooks on life. This statement needs elucidation.

The author is to be commended for urging tolerance and for citing instances of tolerant behaviour of Muslims toward non-Muslims (pp. 49-50). Here he is more thoughtful than on p. 34 where the writes, "... the Islamic State, in the past, has never interfered with or declared any of the institutions and customs of the non-Muslims null and void."

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* — i.e. the ideology of Islam.

It is humbly submitted that no community in this century should make such a presumptuous overstatement. No community, whether Christian or Muslim, is a community of angels.

On p. 18 is to be found the statement: "It is Deed and not Idea which makes a Muslim." This statement is perhaps valid but too brief. Its intent seems to be that professions which do not result in worthy deeds are empty and worthless. But equally important would be the statement that deeds which are not motivated by worthy ideas can be equally empty.

On p. 90 is the following paragraph quoted from Nietzsche:

> "What would be the use of a God to whom anger, revenge, envy, sarcasm, cunning, violence were unknown? ... One would not understand such a deity; why should one have him? But when a race decays, when it feels its belief in the future, its hope of liberty finally vanishing; when submission appears to it as the most useful policy, and the virtues of the slave present themselves to the conscience of its members as a condition of existence, then must also the idea of God change. The God becomes nervous, fearful, humble, recommends the 'peace of mind', preaches against hatred, recommends cautiousness and 'love' both of friend and foe; he is perpetually moralizing, he becomes everybody's God, becomes a private gentleman, becomes a cosmopolitan."

The author ought to have cited this caricature not with silent approbation but with some qualifying comment. Future students of world religions will demonstrate that the more lasting doctrine is always the one of the God of tender and loving disposition. In Islam, the Qur'anic doctrine of God, the strict Judge, was obscured by Islamic theology within a century of its advent. The doctrine of a stern God may, in certain historical contexts, cause a lightening of political power. But lightenings are always shortlived. It can be argued powerfully that Islam owes its vigorous survival to a very early softening of the doctrine of God by the Mutakallimin and the Sufis.

The author voices a representative feeling when he decries the role of the ignorant Mullah. He firmly believes that the emergence of Mullahism in India is a result of the abolition of Qaza (= Qaḍā) in 1864 by the British, resulting in the inheriting of certain important functions of the Qāḍī by untrained priests (p. 9).

However, when he brackets *Sufism* with Mullahism as a paralyzing force, here again he is speaking without due qualification of the statement. Degenerate Sufism, it is true, is to be decried. But nobler Sufism has been a great saving factor in Islam. It has provided the outlet to the inwardness by stressing the idea that not ritual but spirit is important. It is true that Sufism degenerated into grave-worship and pantheistic non-personalism. But its contribution in checking hypocrisy is immense.

The author's downright condemnation of Sufism (pp. 28 and 61) needs some qualifying control.

Interesting and progressive view-points are offered by the book on the language question in Pakistan (pp. 61, 67, 70) on the training of Imams of mosques at seminaries (pp. 11 and 27) on the Institution of

the Ministry of Religious Affairs (pp. 25-27) and so on. These discourses promise to stimulate thinking in Pakistan to the benefit of the nation.

Hartford, Connecticut DAUD RAHBAR

Yemen On The Threshold. By Erich W. Bethmann. Washington, D. C., American Friends of the Middle East, Inc., 1959, pp. 78.

This narrative of a recent brief but authorized visit to al-Yaman provides reliable and important information about a country where uninvited, surreptitious and gun-toting foreigners are still unwelcome.

In the past the Arabs of Southwest Arabia experienced conquests by Persia, Ethiopia, Arabs of other areas and Turkey. The present ruler, whose Zaidi dynasty has governed at least part of the country for over eleven hundred years, now includes Sunni and Ismaili Muslims among his million subjects.

This ruler, the Imam Ahmad, whose government is personal and absolute, is permitting modern influences to change his country. Schools, newspapers, radio, alliances with other Arabic-speaking nations, exchange of representatives with foreign governments, and foreign travel are giving his people new information and new ideas. But the most striking innovation is the agreement permitting Russia and associated governments to conduct public enterprises in al-Yaman, such as map-making, road-building, harbor and air-field construction, medical and other services.

The American Friends of the Middle East had, in Dr. Bethmann, an unusually well-qualified representative to report on present-day al-Yaman. His observations and comments should have careful attention and lead to mutually beneficial relationships and activities.

Hartford, Connecticut EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

Turkey: Origins of the Kemalist Movement and the Government of the Grand National Assembly (1919-1923). By Elaine D. Smith; Private publication, 1500 Arlington Blvd., Arlington 9, Virginia. Pp. xi, 175, $ 3.00.

One of the most dramatic stories of social and political change in the twentieth century, the Ataturk Revolution, has been almost ignored by major Western historians and philosophers. The West has been too deeply involved in its own "decay" and readjustment to give a serious look at Turkey.

But as we move into the last half of the twentieth century we find a change. The days of decay and upheaval are past, and the radical force of space and atomic technology, plus a vital Eastern force in the form of the Soviet Union, has forced a new look at Western meanings and "one-world possibilities." Thus "off beat" movements like Turkey's attempt to capture the meaning of European seventeenth-century idealism takes on greater importance today. Western advocates of European liberalism may take new faith in their ideology when they learn of how these ideologies and beliefs were woven into the fabric of Middle Eastern and Islamic-saturated Turkey.

Therefore, Elaine Smith's book, which is a doctoral thesis, could serve as a good introduction to a serious quest in the attempt to discover what happened in Turkey. But the value of the book does not end

here. Since Turkey is one of the key powers in the Middle East and the Muslim World, understanding here takes on major political importance for diplomats and missionaries alike. Miss Smith, a diplomat herself, has directed her study toward that end.

To understand modern Republican Turkey one must come to grips with two forces: the charismatic power of Ataturk, and the social and political institutions which are associated with his name and the Ottoman Islamic past. Even today these mold the minds of those who come upon the Turkish scene. Contemporary Turkish efforts toward democracy must be understood as a fusion of these two forces.

Miss Smith is interested, in her study, to trace the roots and sketch the structure of Kemalism, the term used to sum up the "ideology" that is centered around Mustapha Kemal, or Ataturk. In doing so, though she depends heavily on Turkish historians of the revolution, she goes to many of the available original sources.

While many modern writers on Turkey have been content to throw off meaningless generalities about "east and west," Miss Smith has been busy reading all of the modern Turkish books she can find about the period under investigation. Her unromantic labors have resulted in some fresh, and really obvious, statements about the revolution and Ataturk's role in leading it to maturity. For example, many would-be interpreters of modern Turkey would have their readers believe that Ataturk just waved his hand and, presto, Turkey changed completely. They romanticize the Western ideas to the extent that they often would have us believe that Islam vanished from the Turkish scene. They also took the futurist tone of Kemalism to be a statement of fact rather than an ideology.

Miss Smith is not of this school of Turkish scholars. She understands that the Kemalist Movement was the product of a select group of Turkish soldiers and intellectuals, and that ideologically the mass of Turks were not "real" believers, but only followers. This fact, however, Miss Smith does not explain. Instead, she moves on to give a full documentation of the events in which the "élite" who finally brought on the revolution reconciled their differences and formed a common front. The key to this union, Miss Smith points out, is "national sovereignty," an ideology and a program which turned all hands to work to create the Republic. The presence of Greek and other foreign forces on Turkish soil helped in this task.

Though Miss Smith has presented valuable documents and a clear narrative of events which throw light on these crucial four years in modern Turkish history, she has left unanswered the very important question of how Turkey effected this revolution by winning the people, yet without fully changing their minds or basic beliefs. Turkey is an amazing dilemma today. It is so comfortably "reformed" and Western, while at the same time so unregenerated and "old."

What quality of mind enables a Turkish peasant to take both Ataturk and Muhammad to his heart? Untroubled by the intellectual's desire for consistency, and his rationalism, the modern Turkish peasant is able to keep his faith and be a Kemalist at the same time, or at least that is what the present government of Menderes believes.

Miss Smith has done a great service by providing several appendices

which present in English for the first time certain documents which are crucial for the understanding of modern Turkey. Of particular interest to the general reader is her summary of reform legislation and her short biographies of leaders of the Revolution.

It is regrettable that this study is not published by a commercial firm and thus made available to the general public. Perhaps Miss Smith would have to refurbish the work, take her eyes off the professor for whom she is writing, and focus firmly on the growing public of enlightened laymen who are interested in learning more and more about the Middle East and the Muslim World. But, from hints in her study, we feel that she would be delighted with this task. Diplomats not only "study" situations, they also project it in forms which can influence the public. She has done her study well; now let her project Turkey for the American public.

Shelbina, Missouri JOHN KINGSBURY

Soldiers of the Word, by John M. Gibson. Philosophical Library, Inc., New York, 1958, pp. 304. Price $ 3.75.

The story of the American Bible Society is here told with directness and simplicity. Though officially formed in 1816, its beginning is traced back to Samuel J. Mills, a youth in the Presbyterian Church of Litchfield, Connecticut, who later attended Williams College and participated in the famous "haystack prayer-meeting." For with him in his formative years came a vision and an impulse for world-wide Christian outreach, one of the fruits of which was the American Bible Society.

The author conducts the reader through decades of victories and difficulties, with obstacles of all kinds, persecution, wars, financial crises. Ever the aim is to get the Scriptures into the hands of the people, whether at home or abroad. The colporteurs, of course, are the heroes in this enterprise, as they go about selling the Book below cost, that none who desires it may be without it, whether among the westward-moving population in the expanding United States, in South America, Muslim lands, or Siberia. Translation of the Bible in foreign tongues becomes an objective. The problem of widespread illiteracy is recognized. The author introduces the names of pioneers such as Calhoun and Righter in Turkey, Bingham in the Gilbert Islands, Wheeler in Nicaragua, Eli Smith and C. V. A. Van Dyck in connection with the Arabic translation in Beirut. It is filled with accounts of lives transformed by the reading of the Word.

Though intended for popular reading, it contains valuable documentation. It appears at a time when Christians and sincere people of all religions need to be reminded that spiritual realities have abiding force even in a secular and materialistic world.

Hartford, Connecticut ELMER H. DOUGLAS

Saudi Arabia, Its People, Its Society, Its Culture. By George A. Lipsky *et al.* Human Relations Area Files Press, New Haven; distributed by Taplinger Publishing C., New York; 1959, pp. 367, $ 7.00.

Although formally launched in 1932, the Wahhābī kingdom of Saudi Arabia has already experienced two major revolutions, one internal

and one external, both of which deeply affected the nature of the regime and the characteristics of the society of the Arabian Peninsula. By conquering the territories of Hail, Shammar, Asir and Hijaz and their many tribes, and establishing a centralized authority personified in himself as shaikh, imam and king, Ibn Saud in effect wrought many changes in the territories we now call Saudi Arabia. He worked towards transforming the loyalties of the tribes from the limited personal relations between tribesmen and shaikh to an authority based on a large geographical unit and centered on the impersonal concept of king. Moreover, by eliminating inter-tribal raiding, an indispensable necessity for his very existence, the established economic and social structure of Arabian society was radically modified and some from of sedentarization became inevitable. Practically parallel with this forging of the Saudi Arabian kingdom was the emergence of the oil industry in the new Wahhābī state, with its resultant sudden stream of wealth and its tremendous and lasting Western impact on the desert society.

The two revolutions were in a sense complementary, for it is more than likely that without the large oil revenues Ibn Saud in his time and his son Saud after him could not have retained the loyalty of the numerous subsidized tribes, nor could they have prevented inter-tribal raiding. In short, without the income from the oil, the present kingdom could not exist.

Both the revolutions are presented in Lipsky's *Saudi Arabia,* but so placidly that the picture that emerges is vague, even blurred. The writers apparently intentionally avoided transmitting to the reader the dynamism of a living, pulsating, rapidly-changing society. Moreover, the dependence of the success of the first revolution on the results of the later one is not sufficiently emphasized. Interestingly enough, the one chapter in the book which conveys a sense of living reality is Chapter XII, which deals—of all things—with the basic features of the Saudi Arabian economy.

It would seem that in spite of elaborate editing, the book lacks uniformity of style as well as approach. Some chapters present the Saudi Arabians in a somewhat idealized fashion and treat them very gently; others depict them more realistically and treat them somewhat roughly.

The best treatment is accorded the Arabian American Oil Company. All its contributions in the fields of economics, technical training, general education, health and sanitation are fully described, and properly so, but nowhere is there any indication of the magnitude of the Company's profits, in the light of which all the expenses it incurred in the above areas become insignificant. One is left with the impression that Arabian American's activities were motivated exclusively by altruism.

Otherwise, *Saudi Arabia* is a thorough and very helpful reference book on a country about which too little information is available. It covers the entire range of politics, economics, culture and society, and it should be useful to the general reader as well as to the specialist.

Elmont, New York BENJAMIN SHWADRAN

Türkisches Puppentheater. Versuch einer Geschichte des Puppentheaters im Morgenland, by Otto Spies. (Die Schaubühne, Quellen und Forschungen

zur Theatergeschichte, vol. 50). Emsdetten/Westf., Verlag Lechte, 1959, 219 pp., 85 figs., on 24 pls. Paperbd. DM 15. 80.

This publication is the result of two tendencies in modern humanistic and social research: to study the popular arts and customs and thereby to extend the earlier investigations of the official aspects of a civilisation; and to collect as many records and data as possible of all those popular traditions which are now fast succumbing before the sweeping inroads of the mechanized way of life. Prior to this book under review, only three types of Turkish popular dramatic arts were known: the *meddah,* the mimicing raconteur; the *orta oyunu,* the popular theater played by actors; and *karagōz,* the shadow plays. Nowhere, in the recent literature, was the puppet theater mentioned and even Professor Spies, its eventual rediscoverer, assumed as recently as 1938 that it had died out. However, this German scholar eventually found two practitioners of this old form of entertainment and collected from them the texts of five plays (which he reproduces in Turkish, with German translations), the digests of three others, and information on several more, also pictures of the finger-manipulated puppets and of the more recently introduced marionettes which are operated by strings. Although there are close connections with the shadow plays (with which the puppet theater, called *kukla oyunu* after *kukla,* puppet, marionette, has often been confused, even by writers on the subject) and there are puppet play versions composed after karagöz plays, the author establishes certain formal differences between the two theatrical forms. The two main figures are always the old man, Ihtiyar and his rather coarse, but comically cunning servant, Ibish, and there are in addition several other pairs of stock figures. Intermixed with a great deal of punning and slapstick comedy complicated love situations arise, also difficulties owing to lost members of a family and the appearance of robbers. Altogether they are typical Punch and Judy shows so that their international character leads the author quite naturally to comparative literary studies. With the help of historical literary record and the accounts of western travellers he gives thus not only the history of puppet plays in Turkey where this entertainment goes back at least to the sixteenth century, but also in Iran, Egypt, Central Asia, India, Southeast Asia, and the various countries of the Far East. There seems to be only one possible further source which has so far not been considered by the author, namely the paintings made in the Near Eastern countries and in India. From the sixteenth century on they are often concerned with public life and render it realistically, so that a search in this direction might yield new insights in this popular art.

Because of certain immanent features, especially of the main comic figure which occurs in many countries in the same characterisation, Professor Spies assumes a dissemination from one source. He explores both the possibility of migration from ancient Hellas across Asia to the Far East and a migration in the oposite direction, without, however, coming to definite results as the material, rich as it seems for a first survey, is not yet sufficient. Linguistic proofs, especially in connection with the origin of the word *kukla* remain also inconclusive. But it seems that gypsies played an important part with regards to this

form of entertainment, particularly as performing artists and thus as disseminators. Altogether this is a valuable book on an unsuspected rediscovery, whose presentation, while done according to all the fine rules of scholarship, is very enjoyable.

Freer Gallery of Art RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C.

Cataloging of Persian Works, By Nasser Sharify. American Library Association, Chicago, 1959, pp. xiv, 161. cloth $ 3.50.

This book on cataloging is a revised version of the author's doctoral dissertation, *A Code for the Cataloging of Persian Publications.*

The author, on leave from his position as Deputy Director of the Library of the Parliament of Iran, came to the United States from Teheran in 1953 to study at the School of Library Service at Columbia University. He received his Master of Science degree in 1954 and then became a member of the staff of the Library of Congress, cataloging its Persian manuscripts. In 1955 he returned to the School of Library Service for advanced study, selecting the subject of cataloging as his major theme.

Dr. Sharify, in his study, discovered that there were many libraries in Iran and elsewhere with large Persian collections, but that no adequate code for cataloging these books existed. In examining other codes he found that they failed to provide a systematic guide and lacked sufficient detail of description.

To the typical library researcher the collections are important, but of no value if improperly cataloged. A library's resources are then lost to the world.

Dr. Sharify has given rules of entry, descriptive cataloging rules, a transliteration scheme and examples of its application. The American Library Association is making available a work that should be useful not only to American librarians who work with Persian collections, but also to all others dealing with this subject. Two of the chapters have already made a preliminary appearance: Chapter III "Persian transliteration for Library Purposes" and Chapter VI "Rules for Entry." They embody the system approved by the Library of Congress and will be submitted to the American Library Association as the joint proposal for the Library of Congress and the University of Michigan Library for a system of transliteration suitable for incorporation in the American Library Association *Catalog rules.*

Dr. Sharify was financially supported by a grant from the Control of Library Resources and was twice awarded a Ford Foundation Fellowship and the Grolier Fellowship.

Hartford, Seminary Foundation ELIZABETH DE W. ROOT
Hartford, Connecticut

Jordan a State of Tension. By Benjamin Schwadran; Council for Middle Eastern Affairs Press, New York, 1959. Pp. xii, 436, illustrated, 7 maps, $ 7.00.

Dr. Shwadran is not unlike Stephen Leacock's history professor who always had to go back two thousand years to get a running start, for

he begins what is essentially a study of the modern kingdom of Jordan as far back as 6000 B. C. There might have been some value in this if he had been intending to establish certain historical patterns, but he makes no such attempt. These early chapters are rather dull, sometimes even platitudinous (e.g. the final paragraphs of chapters II and III) and occasionally inaccurate. The note on p. 83 about Es-Salt being the site of the ancient Ramoth Gilead is quite unsound and in fact contradicts the map on p. 15. The picture on p. 87 is not of the Crusading Castle, but of the northern end of the town. For the maps he admittedly apologizes as "merely sketch outlines," but no apology can excuse the Arabah's being represented as an area of continuous marsh and containing no less than two rivers flowing all the from the Dead Sea to the Red Sea. He commits the far too common error of making the Zerqa rise in the desert instead of at Amman, and on page 55 represents the Wadi Wala as far larger than the Mojjib.

The interest of the book begins with Chapter VII, and thereafter the reader who wishes to know something of the complications of the Arab politics will find these considered with clarity, efficiency and learning. On the whole, his treatment is sound and well balanced, though one is bound to wonder whether his assessment is always sound. His estimate of Glubb (pp. 301-2) is singularly ungenerous and those who knew Glubb's sincere love for Jordan and the Arabs must surely protest against it. Nor is it true, at any rate as this reviewer remembers those hectic days, that the British would have preferred Naif to Talal as the new king after Abdullah's murder (p. 303).

Yet these are small blemishes in what is on the whole a very skilful account of Jordanian history. What is much more serious is the singular absence of one of the main actors in the drama, for throughout the book Israel remains on the edges, a very ghostly foe. One gets the impression that the Arabs were alone in their illegal activities at the end of the Mandate and that all the follies and excesses in the war were theirs. The Qibya incident (p. 321) is described as "killing fifty-three persons, among them women and children," whereas Glubb says sixty-six were killed, three-quarters of whom were women and children (*A Soldier with the Arabs,* p. 313).

In short, this is a useful, indeed a necessary, book for those who would understand the strange and fascinating Kingdom of Jordan. Yet it is written from the outside, with little affection for, or real understanding of, the people. It has an excellent bibliography and a good index.

Kenyon College
Gambier, Ohio

DENIS BALY

The Concise Oxford Turkish Dictionary, Edited by A. D. Alderson and Fahir Iz. Oxford University Press, New York 1959, pp. xii, 807, $ 5.75.

The concise Oxford Turkish Dictionary is an abridgement of two larger Oxford dictionaries, *The Oxford Turkish-English Dictionary* and *The Oxford English-Turkish Dictionary.* Its editors, A. D. Alderson and Fahir Iz, state in their introduction that the dictionary was prepared for use in schools and universities. The abridgement has reduced these two larger dictionaries by two-thirds.

This work should be attractive to the thousands of Turks today who are struggling to learn English in schools and through private tutors. Like the two earlier dictionaries, this one is rich in idiomatic expressions which are a great asset for Turks who today are learning English. They are studying English to speak it, not merely for academic reasons. Consider the entry "bed" for example, in the English-Turkish section. Included under this entry one finds "bed and board," "bedding," "between you and me and the bedpost," and "bed down a horse."

Another welcome feature to a Turk struggling to learn English is the choice of a suitable phonetic system, the one chosen being the Turks' own phonetic system. Thus the Turk does not have to struggle to learn a strange set of symbols dear to linguists. He merely reads the Turkish phonetic rendering of the English word. The Turkish spelling then appears in italics, as: penny (peni), phantasm (fantasm), succeed (saksid), and so forth. The editors, however, had to add to the Turkish system several sounds voiced in English but not in Turkish. Their additions seem to be adequate. Yet one questions the non-auditory method of representing the pronunciation.

In reducing the larger Oxford dictionaries the authors had to eliminate something. With the student in mind they made their choice. Idioms for the most part remained. Close synonyms were eliminated. This choice was in favor of the Turkish student learning English. But when the authors eliminated a large number of Arabic and Persian words which, they said, were now replaced by Turkish words, they made the book less usable for the English-speaking student of Turkish. But this fault is not a major one, and can easily be corrected by consulting the fuller Oxford Dictionaries which do contain a fair number of Arabic and Persian forms.

Shelbina, Missouri JOHN KINGSBURY

The Way Prepared, A Reading Book in Modern Arabic. Middle East Centre for Arab Studies, Shemlan, Lebanon; Dar al-Kutub Press, Beirut, 1958. Pp. ii, 79, paper.

A Selected Word list of Modern Literary Arabic. Compiled by The Middle East Centre for Arab Studies, Shemlan, Lebanon; Dar al-Kutub Press, Beirut, 1959. pp. 262.

The Middle East Centre for Arab Studies, located in Shemlan, Lebanon, has recently published two books which promise to be very useful to students of Modern Arabic. They are *The Way Prepared,* a Reader, and *A Selected Word List of Modern Literary Arabic.* The word list was printed in January, 1959, but was in use in the Centre prior to that date and was the basis of vocabulary used in the Reader which was printed in August 1958.

The list contains about 3,000 words, arranged in ten groups of approximately 300 words each. The preface explains: "The words in the List are arranged, generally speaking, in the order of their frequency in the Arabic of modern educated intercourse... Some words earn a high place on the List because of their frequency in the modern written language and others through their frequency in the spoken language... The order in which they are arranged is our own and some may disagree with the placing of individual words."

Although it is not so stated, one may infer that the selection of words was also their own without reference to any objective standard such as an actual word count. While a word count would give a more certain position upon which to defend both the inclusion of a given word and its place in the list, it appears to the reviewer that this process would not greatly influence the validity of the list chosen. One has the feeling, upon checking the list, that they are very useful words, both for written Arabic and for conversation with educated Arabic-speaking people. The statement, however, that one who has mastered this list will be able to understand the modern press and wireless without difficulty sounds a bit bold.

An actual word count of a number of newspapers and magazines in Egypt about 25 years ago, involving the tabulation of over 200,000 words, indicated that a list of 2,000 words would give about one half of the material printed in those particular issues. [1] There is the possibility that the remaining fifty percent contains some very important words. It would be interesting to know just what percentage of the words in a running sentence or series of sentences would be requisite for an adequate and satisfactory comprehension.

The book is well printed on good paper, but one might wish that the binding were stronger. This reviewer's copy has already separated from the covers after very little use.

These criticisms, however, detract but little from the usefulness of the book. Certainly one who knows this list of words has a good start toward competence in the use of modern Arabic.

The Way Prepared is also a very useful bit of work. The reading exercises are graduated in the use of vocabulary so that the student builds up on a regular progression with words from the corresponding section of the word list. For instance, section one of the reader has only words from section one of the word list. One might question if the gradient is low enough and new words repeated sufficiently to fix them in mind with the minimum of effort. Dr. Laubach states that new words should be limited in number and should appear at least five times on the first page where they are found, with still further repetition on subsequent pages. This ratio can hardly be present in the reader under consideration, for the first section of the word list has about 300 words and the companion section of the reader a little over 500.

A more careful introduction of new words, and their employment in various forms and connections immediately after their first appearance, would render the Reader still more useful.

By confining vocabulary to a carefully delineated area, the compilers have prepared a book on sound principles. It will be a very useful text.

Asmara, Eritrea E. M. Bailey

A Survey of North West Africa (The Maghrib). Edited by Nevill Barbour; Oxford University Press, London, 35 shillings; New York, $ 5.60; 1959. Pp. xi, 406, addenda, index, maps.

This book is important because it deals with an important subject, and because it is the first one in English to encompass the whole of the

[1] *A List of Modern Arabic Words,* by E. M. Bailey; printed by Nile Mission Press, Cairo. (Ed.)

Maghrib, including even Shniqit (Mauritania) and the Sahara regions. It is issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs whose name alone is a guarantee of serious scholarship. It is, therefore, the more surprising that the normal custom of mentioning individually the names of contributors responsible for individual chapters should not be adhered to, and that the reader is unable to determine to whom either praise of blame is due.

The authors make a brave effort to be impartial. This is no easy task, in view of the fact that they deal with matters as controversial as the French regime in Morocco and Tunisia and the war in Algeria. Though a student of North African history and politics may not always agree with their assessment of this personality or that incident, by and large the authors have shown a praiseworthy objectivity. The same praise can, unfortunately, not be lavished upon the organization of the book as a whole which often demands going backward and forward, and which would have gained by a stricter adherence to continuity.

Dealing, as the book does, with the geographical and historical background of each Maghribi country and with political and economic developments in each one since the attainment of Independence, the book will prove particularly useful for reference purposes. It is, however, surprising that, while political and economic changes are described in some detail, little attention is paid to the equally important social changes and to the religious life of the countries concerned. Now, as everyone acquainted with the Maghrib knows, Islam still plays a most important part in North Africa, even if many Moroccans, Algerians and Tunisians who claim to be *evolué* try to impress the foreigner by their "secular progressivenes." But it would be most misleading to judge the ethos underlying modern Maghribi life by the "intellectual" and political minorities in such cities as Tunis, Algiers or Casablanca. When the present reviewer visited, fairly recently, camps of Algerian refugees in eastern Morocco, he found that the most popular book, the one over which the very politically-conscious refugees spent their longest hours, was still the Qur²ān. A picture of the Maghrib that practically leaves out the element of religion can give but a very incomplete picture of the area concerned and of its people.

While the numerous data contained in the volume appear to be accurate, some of the economic statistics do not agree with those given by the respective governments. It is also inaccurate to say, on p. 102: "all ministers except one were members of the Istiqlal"; actually three were not members. No Moroccan would agree that the PDI party could ever have been regarded as "big" (p. 110). Most surprising is the statement on p. 115 that, under the French, "money was one limiting factor" in developing the educational system. Independent Morocco, infinitely poorer than was the Protectorate, has not only found the requisite money but, within three years, has managed to treble the number of children receiving education.

In spite of certain blemishes, for some time to come *North West Africa* will be indispensable to anyone concerned with that fascinating part of the world.

College of the Pacific, California ROM LANDAU

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Democracy in Pakistan. In his message to the Nation, February 16, President Muhammad Ayub Khan expressed gratitude for the privilege of serving the nation and for the confidence granted him by his countrymen in the recent election.

The President outlined clearly and with urgency the obligation incumbent on him and also on his fellow countrymen to make a constitution. He emphasized the significance of the people's interest and concern in formulating the new constitution.

The President challenged their awareness of being the embodiment of the country's highest authority. He pointed to the compelling importance both of the people using their right of vote and of those in power abiding by the results thereof.

President Ayub Khan expressed his deep conviction concerning the value of the democratic procedures. It is because of his belief in them that he has chosen to follow their pattern in making the country's new constitution. He announced that he would soon propose to "appoint a Constitutional Commission of eminent men in the country to put up their recommendations as soon as feasible after consulting as many people as possible."

The President is eager to have a workable constitution which will help the Pakistani people "live the life of good Muslims. This business of reflecting the spirit of Islam in statecraft is a delicate and difficult ambition but I propose to attempt it with all the earnestness and intellectual honesty at my disposal... In the fast-moving world of today the horizon of man is widening all the time and the searchlight of his knowledge is extending more and more into space and outer space. Our understanding of Islam should also move forward, not backward ... What I am after is to bring a constitution under which we can remain united and free, advance forward, keep strong and be true to our faith."

One final appeal is made by the President, and that is "not to be dogmatic and go by what is being done in other countries. Such examples are all right as guides, but their blind imitation in our own environments has proved suicidal in the past and can do so again in the future... Study the circumstances in our own country and ask yourselves 'What is it that will really suit us?' It is a correct and honest answer to this question which alone can provide a true solution to our problems."

(Pakistan News Digest, March 1, 1960)

Karachi University. Karachi University recently moved to its new home on College Club Road eight miles from Karachi. Established in 1951 by Pakistan government order and aided by it financially, the University began a vast building project with plans for a self-contained university town.

The construction program, divided into four phases, will take several

years to finish. The completion of the first is enabling the University to move to its new site.

The campus area of 15,000 acres will be organized into various colleges. Housing units for students, staff and servants are in the plans together with landscaping to provide beauty and dignity to the University grounds.

Twenty-three colleges with 19,000 undergraduates are now affiliated with the University and 1500 post-graduate students are in the University of Karachi itself. It offers post-graduate courses in 25 subjects in addition to diploma courses in Western languages, journalism, library science and public and business administration.

New Scripture Translation. Psalms. The appearance of new Scripture translations is always a noteworthy event, particularly for those to whom the beauty and familiarity of old versions have contributed much in the way of spiritual enrichment. As devotional literature in the Arabic language the Psalms have occupied a place of preeminence throughout the centuries. Undoubtedly their enriching influence will continue as long as men seek appropriate expressions of praise and gratitude to their Creator. But languages develop, vocabularies change in meaning, and literary forms refuse to remain immutable. Therefore it becomes normal to seek, with the progress of time, the most suitable forms of utterance to express innermost aspirations. Thus a new effort to improve former renderings of the Psalms is now being made in Egypt. The first results have been published in *Mideo* (Mélanges, Institut Dominicain d'Etudes Orientales du Caire), No. 4, 1957 and No. 5 1958. The former volume contains a selection of fifteen Psalms. The translator is Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq Ḥusain. His renderings have been carefully checked by his brother, Dr. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusain whose name is familiar to readers of the Muslim World through recent articles in connection with his book *City of Wrong* (April and July 1956), and other articles (Jan. and July 1959). The work has been pursued with the collaboration of competent scholars. So encouraging were the results of the first attempt as published in the former volume that in the succeeding issue twenty-five Psalms, by the pen of the same translator, were published in numerical order beginning with Psalm 1.

It is yet too early to appraise with accuracy the sentiments of acceptance of the great mass of Arabic readers, of several faiths, who will weigh the merits or demerits of this new version. It can be said, however, that any effort to elucidate obscurities, clarify meanings and ennoble the style is in the right direction.

Proverbs. The Bible Society has also published a revised edition of Proverbs in Arabic under the editorial responsibility of Dr. Butrus Abd al-Malik and Dr. John Alexander Thompson. The book was handwritten by Mr. Adly Bulus, chief calligrapher for *al-Ahram*. The printing was done at Beirut, Lebanon, under the supervision of the Bible Society staff in that city. The appearance of this booklet is one further step toward the goal of a complete revision of the Arabic Bible of the so-called Van Dyck version which was first published in its entirety in

1865, Beirut. Further comments on Proverbs are solicited before the publication of the final Arabic revision of the Bible.

Ṭanṭa University. The Washington Embassy of the United Arab Republic (Jan. 1960) has announced that the Gharbia Province Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution calling for the establishment of a university in Tanṭa. This city, the capital of the Gharbia Province, is the third largest city in Egypt.

At present there are five universities in Egypt: al-Azhar and two others in Cairo, one in Alexandria and one in Assiut.

The establishment of the Ṭanṭa university will be financed by joint effort of the Government, the local Chamber of Commerce, the Municipal Council and the inhabitants of the Gharbia Province.

Ramaḍān — 1960 Widely divergent evaluations will be placed upon the changes occurring in Islam with regard to the fast of Ramaḍān, but that changes are occurring is being made clear to all through the world press. While the *New York Times* was reporting the faithfulness of an Indonesian Muslim exchange student observing the fast and performing his prayers in his New Jersey foster home, President Bourguiba of Tunisia was doing his best to keep the observance of the fast at a minimum. Though Bourguiba failed to get the support of the Grand Mufti of Tunisia or of the head of the Quranic Zaitūnah University in reasoning that the struggle for economic liberation is a *jihād*, he has acted on that basis as the political leader of the nation. He disavows seeking the complete elimination of the fast and other religious aspects of the Ramaḍān observance, but he makes it clear that no observance of it should be tolerated where it might weaken the economic life of the country. The government has ordered all public boarding schools to ignore the fast and to give the children vitamins during the month. Food will also be available for the military personnel as in any other month. Everyone is expected to turn out the usual amount of work, and no working hours are to be shortened or changed. Moreover, concert halls and coffee shops have been ordered to close at midnight throughout the month to discourage the dissipation of strength through long nocturnal celebrations. Finally, judicial proceedings may be instigated against any who seek to persecute or scorn publicly those who do not keep the fast.

Bourguiba also issued a decree stating that astronomical calculations will be the basis for determining the Muslim lunar months from now on. Accordingly, Ramaḍān began in Tunisia on Sunday, February 28, instead of the 27th as in Arabia, the UAR, Iraq, Jordan, and Bahrain. A decree similar to Bourguiba's was issued in Pakistan last January 6. The Islamic Mission of America (Brooklyn, New York) also began the observance of Ramaḍān on February 28.

The Mufti of the U.A.R.'s southern region (Egypt) handed down an official ruling this year proclaiming that husbands could kiss their wives during fasting hours. Kissing on both the cheeks and on the lips was said to be permissible provided the kisses were friendly and not passionate. He further clarified what was permitted to women by

saying they could wear lipstick and tightly-fitting sleeveless dresses during Ramaḍān.

D. B.

Oriental Congress, Moscow. Announcement has been received of the coming International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow from August 9 to 16, 1960. This is the twenty-fifth such congress to be held. The Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the Organizing Committee of the coming Congress have invited scholars working in the field of Oriental studies to take part in this Congress as its members. Two general meetings are proposed: August 9-12 and August 15-16. The main work will be done in sections, of which there are twenty, as, for example Egyptology, Arabic philology, Indian studies, Sinology, African studies, Semitics, History of Iran and Afghanistan, Iranian Philology, History of Turkey.

Graham Tours Africa. During his "Africa Crusade," which started January 21st in Monrovia, Liberia, and ended March 13th in Cairo, Egypt, the Reverend Billy Graham preached in twenty-five major meetings across nine countries. He refused to enter the Union of South Africa because of its policy of apartheid.

In predominantly Muslim Nigeria he visited five cities in a little over two weeks. It was reported that out of a gathering of 40,000 in Ibadan "about 850 came forward to embrace the Christian faith, including Moslems and animists." In his sermons, Graham spoke about the crucified Christ, His sufferings and the spiritual significance of the Cross. He always emphasized the great cost of Christian discipleship.

Mr. Naseem Saifi, an active Ahmadiyya missionary in Lagos, differed with Billy Graham in the matter of a statement which the latter is presumed to have made regarding the Qur'an, and challenged him to a public debate. Mr. Graham did not respond to this invitation. The incident was the basis of two editorials in *The Christian Century* (Feb. 17 and 24, 1960) which discussed the necessity for "Christians to refine their knowledge concerning the non-Christian religions of the world before making statements about them," and drew attention to the teaching values, along this line, of the ecumenically oriented Asmara Conference as well as the recent consultation held in Chicago. In a cablegram to this magazine, Graham spoke appreciatively of their editorial, but stated that he had absolutely made no statements against Muslims during his entire tour.

It is reported that a pamphlet entitled "Five Points to Remember," presumably written by Mr. Saifi, was distributed at the time of the Graham meetings in Lagos. The five points were that Jesus: (1) was not the Son of God; (2) did not die on the cross; (3) was not resurrected; (4) did not go to the skies; (5) will not return.

In northern Nigeria, Graham had an interview with the Prime Minister, al-Ḥājj Aḥmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto, who agreed with him that the missionaries were doing great humanitarian work through schools and hospitals. The Prime Minister added, however, that some missionaries carry on political activity and this "must stop."

Speaking of his tent meeting in Cairo, Egypt, Graham said it was "the most tightly-packed audience" before which he had ever preached. Reminding his audience of the early Egyptian Christians who risked their lives in speaking boldly for Christ, he added: "A great spiritual awakening could take place in Egypt if Christians loved each other and spoke boldly for Christ today."

Upon concluding his tour of Africa he spoke of the enormous progress Islam is making over both Christianity and Communism in claiming the allegiance of Africa's "uncommitted millions." He said that what Africa needs is more Christian missionaries, preferably Negroes, but especially Christian African missionaries themselves.

R.P.

Turkey: press and education. The career of Necip Fazel Kesakürek, fanatic right wing Turkish journalist, was halted for at least eighteen months recently when an Istanbul Press Court judge sentenced him to serve that period in prison. Kesakürek was found guilty of violating Turkish libel laws.

His arrest and conviction arose from a series of articles in a magazine "Büyük Doğu" (The Great East) that he published. In these articles Kesakürek attempted to define his ideology which centers around a mystical and fanatic "worship" of "The Spirit of The East." His statements attracted little governmental attention until in one of his issues he charged that all reformers in Turkey since the 19th century were "phonies," and that their reforms were destructive to the True Turkish spirit, which feeds on the Spirit of The East. Intellectuals and students protested violently and pointed out to the government that this was a direct attack on Ataturk. (Kesakürek did not mention Ataturk by name.) At first the government seemed hesitant to arrest Kesakürek. Those who demanded his arrest were loud in their claims that the government was protecting Kesakürek because of his support of Menderes and his administration. In the same issue in which he by implication called Ataturk a "phony" reformer, he almost made a saint out of Menderes.

Kesakürek studied painting at The Istanbul Academy of Fine Arts and, though he attacks Western culture, his magazine was filled with illustrations of Western artists whose works he often used as cartoons. By placing his own caption over a Picasso "distorted" face, he once implied that the Halk party, which he hates violently, was "mad."

His prime target has been Inönü. Kesakürek, along with other reactionaries, remembers with bitterness the strong hand of Inönü when he was in power. During the war years Kesakürek was hailed and his proto-fascist movement, called strangely enough Büyük Doğu, was banned. Kesakürek is a prize example of how some non-Westerners, who become deeply embued in Western culture, react to it. Like his "brothers" elsewhere in the world of Islam, Kesakürek shows a "silent" admiration for and enslavement in the very Western culture they seek to destroy. They are not to be confused with the "pure" conservative who reacts to The West from a firm non-Western Islamic base.

The Kesakürek case is an illustration of the continued power of the

Ataturk tradition and cult in Turkey. Though members of the Menderes Government may privately admit that some of Ataturk's policies must be modified in the last half of the twentieth century, the government had to listen to public opinion. No one can openly "attack" Ataturk in Turkey today with impunity.

After avoiding a specific program for over five years, the government finally faced the issue of total religious education in Turkey.

When the government allowed the Imam ve Hatip schools to be opened in Turkey eight years ago, they made no provision for anything but a Middle School education for its future religious leaders. The implication was that after finishing the Middle School, Imam ve Hatip graduates would be allowed to attend the regular Turkish higher schools. But this never came about. Instead, the government four years ago extended the Imam ve Hatip schools to include the *lise* (lycée) grades. When this was done the government again implied that the graduates from the Imam ve Hatip *lise* would be admitted to The Divinity School, the religious department of The University of Ankara. However this did not materialize, because the Imam ve Hatip graduates were not acceptable to the University. The University argued that it would not lower its standards. Finally the University won. Turkish religious groups never have accepted the University Divinity School, and wanted a special higher school of Islamic studies, divorced from the intellectual life of the University. The Divinity School faculty had not proved itself "orthodox" enough for many. Its members are all intellectuals, and have very little to say to the non-intellectual in Turkey. Intellectuals the world over have difficulty in communication with the non-intellectuals, but in Turkey the chasm between them ever precludes even a slight whisper. This year the government announced it would form a university-level School of Religion. An Islamic Institute has been opened as a part of the Imam ve Hatip School in Istanbul. Imam ve Hatip graduates, excluded from The University of Ankara, now would have their own school of advanced studies.

Thus Turkey adopts a dual educational system—one secular, one religious. Though these branches are both administered by the secular Ministry of Education, and the Imam ve Hatip schools have a core of secular courses, the branches are firmly established. The future Turkish religious leaders and the future Turkish secular leaders will be separated from each other after the end of primary school, and each will go his own educational way. Under this system, once the road has been taken, it is extremely difficult to turn back.

The Turkish government's handling of this difficult problem reveals the "pragmatic" philosophy which Menderes has adopted. Policy is decided piece-meal, a step at a time. The government has no over-all religious policy, but seeks to fulfill the popular will, yet remain true to the liberalism of its Ataturk revolution. Philosophy and doctrinaire statements are not its strong concern. It acts, then creates its philosophy. This is one of its major differences from The Halk Party, which seems at times to be stronger on philosophy and ideology than it is in practical politics.

J. K.

Religious Freedom in Turkey. The question of religious freedom has arisen again in Turkey. The point at issue is whether Turkey in the latter half of the twentieth century can allow Islam full freedom to express itself. The issue centers around the activities of Said Nursi, a 92-year-old religious leader, and his followers, who call themselves Nurcular, or "Followers of Light."

Said Nursi, of Kurdish descent, born in the Kurdish regions of Eastern Turkey, has led a colorful career. He is said to have been captured during World War I by the Russians from whom he escaped and fled to Paris. There he was linked with Pan-Kurdish nationalistic groups. He returned to Turkey during the days of Ataturk's campaign against the Greeks, but, finding no quarter for his ideas, went back to the Eastern Turkish provinces where he was arrested by the Turkish nationalists. After the war and the launching of the revolutionary campaigns against dervish groups and religious leaders, Said Nursi was exiled to Isparta where he aparently avoided the limelight until his name became linked with a rightist and leftist plot to stir up the Kurds in the 1930's.

Said Nursi, who was trained in the Naqshbandī dervish order, is alleged to have become the leader of a new dervish group, who are called "The Nurculars." That this is so his followers deny. They say that Nurculars are really not a mystical order, but are merely a group of Muslims who have received a religious revival through the writings of Said Nursi. This question of whether or not the group is a dervish order is at the center of the current debate.

The activities of the Nurculars have been increasing in boldness for the past few years. Last year during Ramaḍān, groups in Ankara and in some Aegean cities were arrested for circulating proclamations made by Said Nursi calling on Turkish youth to return to Islamic purity. The Ankara group (seven were actually brought to trial) were later freed, and the proponents of the Nurculars freely circulated the judge's decree which stated that he could not find evidence that they were a dervish order and that thus they were violating the law.

Late in January of this year the Nurculars reappeared in the limelight when Said Nursi emerged from the quasi-exile of interior Isparta and began a tour of Turkey which took him to Ankara, Istanbul, and through the Aegean area. His activities made front-page headlines in the Istanbul newspapers which reported that he interviewed several members of the Grand National Assembly while he was in Ankara. The papers spoke of an organized group of his followers who were called "disciples." These disciples organized his tour, secured apartment and hotel accommodations, and served as body guards.

The political opposition has protested his trip, and Ismet Inönü, head of the Halk Party, has hinted that the whole activity of Said Nursi had Democratic Party backing. During the general election two years ago it was reported that Said Nursi campaigned for the Democrats. He has many reasons to be unhappy about Inönü, for it was during his Presidency of Turkey that Said Nursi was kept under constant control in Isparta. Menderes hurried forth to answer Inönü's charges, denying any support for Said Nursi, and proclaiming his

party's loyalty to secularism and the principles of the Ataturk Revolution. But a few weeks before Said Nursi's journey a member of Menderes' party, a representative from conservative and religious self-conscious Konya, called a press conference and announced that he would propose that the Turkish Constitution be amended to proclaim Turkey a "secular and democratic Islamic State." When pressed for details, however, he appeared to carry water on both shoulders and said that he did not mean that this would mean a return to any former idea of an Islamic state.

But secular alarmists, watching Said Nursi tour Turkey and uneasy about religious fanaticism, were really upset when it was disclosed that a group in Egypt had been sending form letters to Turkey advocating the return of the Caliphate and the Sultan. The government also spoke out against this group.

Nevertheless the scope and dimension of future Islamic expression in Turkey were in the making in the current debate over whether Said Nursi should be allowed freedom to tour the country and meet his followers. There are many facets to this debate. The extremists on both sides — the professional secularists and anti-clerics and the Islamic purists — seem to miss the ear of the government, which has earned the title of being the party in favor of religion. Instead, the government seems to take a "wait and see" policy, a typical politician's pragmatic approach. Said Nursi is allowed to make his tour, while at the same time the government raids his home in Isparta and seizes some of his books. Nurculars who became too active in Samsun, a Black Sea port city, were arrested and are on trial.

It is interesting to note that Said Nursi's opponents include not only the liberal secularists, but also the established Muslim religious leaders.

J. K.

Moroccan Education Responds to Modern Trends. Since his return to the throne as King of Morocco, Muhammad V has manifested continued concern for his country's welfare and progress. The pattern of education followed for centuries no longer fits the body of Morocco growing up in today's world. In re-shaping the educational pattern, Muhammad V has been cognizant of Morocco's needs in relation to contemporary trends.

Inspired by democratic ideals of procedure, the King reinstated the Royal Commission of Learning eclipsed during the protectorate regime. At the first meeting of the Superior Council of National Education in 1959, the Minister of National Education, Nasir al-Fassi, recognized the merits of the King's vision and measures already undertaken. He said: "Aware of the demands upon the younger generation facing the present-day social evolution, you have felt the need of sparing them the danger of political instability. Your desire has been to stabilize educational reform. Thus you have replaced the provisional Commission by a permanent National Consultative Council... It will play a determining role in educational policy and in its adaptation to national needs. Progress both socially and economically as well as culturally will benefit by the steps taken."

To implement educational reform, a five-year plan has been outlined for primary-grade children and is under consideration. Secondary education programs are being elaborated for eventual adoption and execution.

In the realm of higher education expansion is already under way. The University of Morocco, two years old in December, 1959, is expanding its program to include medicine, engineering, sociology and research in the promotion of Arabic.

The School of Applied Medical Studies Ibn Rochd was inaugurated at Casablanca on November 7, 1959. Two weeks earlier the first stone was laid for the Engineering School Muhammadia at Agdal, with the expectation of opening classes in October, 1960.

Plans for introducing courses in sociology are being studied. The projected Institute for Study and Research in the promotion of Arabic also indicates that enlightened minds are making their impact.

Through UNESCO aid the Institute of Social Sciences will become part of the University. Two other institutes are in preparation, one for political science and the other for African studies.

In his address at the opening of the University of Rabat, October 29, 1959, Muhammad al-Fassi reminded his audience that the current school year coincided with the ten-hundredth anniversary of the world's oldest university, the Karaouine, founded in 859.

With reference to keeping abreast of the times, the Recteur called to mind the colloquium sponsored currently by the International Geographical Society and organized at the University of Morocco.

Upheld by the interested concern of the King, and guided by the insight and leadership of the Ministry of Education, Morocco is presently breaking away from the conservative outlook characteristic of Muslim education for many centuries.

E. M. D.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

by Sue Molleson Foster

I. GENERAL

An aerial reconnaissance of the Negev. Nelson Glück. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* Baltimore. October, 1959. pp. 2-12. Points out how superior a flight is for showing up ancient walls and the means for saving water in the innumerable wadis and on hill tops and slopes.

Aperçus sur la prose turque contemporaine. René Girard. *Orient,* Paris. 1959. pp. 109-138. Extracts in translation accompanied by explanatory comment.

Arabischer liebszauber aus Ägypten. E. Littmann. *Mélanges Louis Massignon,* Paris. III, 1957. pp. 81-89. Text, translation and comment on a work about love charms.

Archéologie soviétique en Asie. G. Frumkin. *Asiatische Studien,* Bern. 1958, part 1-2. A survey and bibliography.

Hispano-Arab libraries, books and manuscripts. S. M. Imamuddin. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society,* Karachi. April, 1959. pp. 101-109. Much material was destroyed because of sectarian disputes among Muslims, but an immense number of works were left in Grenada and elsewhere.

Iraqi Arabic studies. Haim Blanc. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington. Autumn, 1959. pp. 449-451. Cites work in this field.

Un jardin secret: la poésie arabe. R. Blanchère. *Studia Islamica,* Paris. 1958. pp. 5-12. An appreciation.

The position of Ġālib in the history of Urdu and Indo-Persian poetry. A. Bausani. *Der Islam,* Berlin. September, 1959. pp. 99-127. A detailed analysis of the stylistic peculiarities of this important poet (1796-1869).

Le réformisme musulman dans la littérature arabe contemporaine. Henri Laoust. *Orient,* Paris. 1959. pp. 81-107. Reviews the main ideas of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghāni, Muhammad ᶜAbduh, Rashīd Riḍá and others and then shows their influence in law, politics, etc.

The royal treasure of Dorak. James Mellaart. *The Illustrated London News,* London. November 28, 1959. pp. 754-757. Yortan culture is vividly portrayed in the exquisite works discovered in two royal tombs located in the Vilayat of Bursa in northwest Turkey.

Some Khowar songs. Wazir Ali Shah and Georg Morgenstierne. *Acta Orientalia,* Copenhagen. vol. 24, part 1-2. pp. 29-58. Text and translation of songs in the Dardic language used in the Chitral country south of the Hindukush.

II. HISTORY OF ISLAM

Auf dem wege zur Türkischen Republik. Gotthard Jäschke. *Welt des Islams,* Munster (Westf.). 1958, part 3-4. pp. 206-218. A study of source materials.

Developments of the Quarter: Comment and chronology. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, Autumn, 1959. pp. 422-442. Co-

vers June 15 to September 15, 1959 and comments on the great importance of the Nile Agreement of November 8th. between Egypt and the Sudan.

An inquiry into the Turkish massacres of 1894-1897. Gregory Arabian. *Armenian Review,* Boston. July, 1959. pp. 132-140. Points out the influence of international affairs on the situation.

Islamstaaten und Christlicher Westen heute. Rudolf Strothmann. *Der Islam,* Berlin. September, 1959. pp. 1-33.

The Persian army in the Safavī period. Laurence Lockhart. *Der Islam,* Berlin. September, 1959. pp. 89-98. Traces the rise to power of the 16th-century Shāh Ismaᶜīl, reverenced as a descendant of the Prophet, whose army was composed mainly of Turkoman tribesmen.

Sur l'origine des Safavides. Zeki Velidi Togan. *Mélanges Louis Massignon,* III, Paris. 1957. pp. 345-357. The author argues for the Kurdish origin of the Safavids.

Über die Yesidi. Heinrich Kirchmair. *Der Islam,* Berlin. September, 1959. pp. 162-173. An historical article.

III. QURᵓAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

Anpassung des Manichäismus an den Islam. Carsten Colpe. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Wiesbaden. 1959, part 1. pp. 82-91. Describes the adaptation of the cult under Abū ᶜĪsā al-Warrāq.

De la filiation maternelle en droit musulman. R. Brunschvig. *Studia Islamica,* Paris. 1958. pp. 49-60. Discusses the legal effects of consanguinity in the direct line during classical Islamic times.

Un décret du sultan mamlouk Malik Ashraf Shaᶜban à la Mecque. Gaston Wiet. *Mélanges Louis Massignon* III, Paris. 1957. pp. 383-410. Text, translation and commentary on a work found on six columns in the Ḥaram.

The interpretation of Surah 107. H. Birkeland. *Studia Islamica,* Paris. 1958. pp. 13-30. After much study, the author believes the Surah is not a "totality" as shown in Muslim interpretation.

The origin and development of Sūfism. Anne Marie Schimmel. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Association,* Karachi. April, 1959. pp. 55-67. The author argues for the Qurᵓān's being the source for the important ideas of early Sufism.

Les subdivisions de l'Ibādiyya. T. Lewicki. *Studia Islamica,* Paris. 1958. pp. 71-82. This Khārijite sect gained much support in early Islam.

Untersuchungen zu Ġazzālis Kitāb at Tauba. Susanna Wilzer. *Der Islam,* Berlin. September, 1959. pp. 128-138.

IV. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE

The constitutional laws of Persia. Laurence Lockhart. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington. Autumn, 1959. pp. 372-388. A survey of the origin and development of the measure ratified by the Shah on December 30, 1906 and enduring to to-day.

De la Perse à l'Iran. Vincent Monteil. *Mélanges Louis Massignon,* III, Paris. 1957. pp. 161-184. An account of beliefs and customs observed during a journey made in 1950-1952.

Des animaux et de leur traitement selon le Judaïsme, le Christianisme et l'Islam. G. H. Bousquet. *Studia Islamica,* Paris. 1958. pp. 31-43. The author furnishes his own descriptions of actual practice although his article is based on Scripture.

Document: the Tunisian Constitution. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington. Autumn, 1959. pp. 443-448. Gives the main features of this important document approved June 1, 1959.

Les "enfants de Bourguiba" grandissent dans leurs villages. J. G. Magnin. *I.B.L.A.,* Tunis. 1959, part 1. pp. 73-95. Remarks on the problem of the development of deserted children.

Jordan's East Ghor canal project. Joseph L. Dees. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington. Autumn, 1959. pp. 356-371. High praise for the initiative shown in this undertaking which will create employment, irrigation, and more food for the rapidly increasing population.

La réforme municipale en Algérie. Jean Marie. *L'Afrique et l'Asie,* Paris. 1959, part 2. pp. 31-38. Points out many improvements in administration.

Scolarisation et corps enseignant. Michel Lelong. *I.B.L.A.,* Tunis. 1959, part 2. pp. 205-215. Analyzes teacher-training facilities which must cope with the amazing increases in population.

Travels in Bashkardia. Dr. Ilya Gershevitch. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. October, 1959. pp. 218-225. While studying ancient Persian dialects still spoken by the natives, the author gathered material on the daily life of the area.

V. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Britain and the Arabs. Lieut. Gen. Sir John Glubb. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1959. pp. 232-241. "The present situation in the Middle East cannot be rectified by force but can be rectified by ideas" — such as equality, friendship, and the feeling of pulling together to make a secure world.

The Kurds of Transcaucasia and Persia. *Central Asian Review,* London. 1959, part 2. pp. 163-201. Mr. C. J. Edmonds translates and comments on recent Soviet material on this subject.

The Muslim republics of the U.S.S.R. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1959. pp. 200-212. The third article in a series. This one covers books and longer magazine articles received between January and June 1959.

The new pro-Islam trends in the West. *The Islamic Review,* Woking. March, 1959. pp. 3-5. Islam and Christianity are being drawn together by a common revulsion against godless materialism.

Rückblick auf drei internationale islamische tagungen. Gustave E. von Grunebaum. *Der Islam,* Berlin. September, 1959. pp. 138-149. The article covers meetings at Aligarh (January 18-19, 1958); at Lahore (December 27, 1957-January 8, 1958); and at Dacca (January 12-13, 1958).

LE SAHARA ET SON AVENIR. Léonce Tournier. *Pensée Française,* Paris. Janvier, 1960. pp. 18-22. Tells of impressive progress being made already or planned for the future in oil production, water conservation, mining, and general industrial development.

LA SYRIE À LA VEILLE D'UNE NOUVELLE EXPÉRIENCE. Simon Jargy. *Orient,* Paris. 1959. pp. 19-31. Reports the changes in administrative and political matters caused by reorganization under the U.A.R.

TURKEY AND ISLAM TODAY. A. L. Tibawi. *The Islamic Review,* Woking. March, 1959. pp. 27-31. There seems to be an obvious Islamic revival in the country which, under Ataturk, had become so definitely secularized.

VI. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

THE APOSTOLATE IN MOHAMMEDAN CIRCLES. Fr. Charles de Foucauld. *Christ in the World,* Rome, 1960, part. 1, pp. 65-74. In an effort to counteract the prejudiced idea that missions to Muslims are doomed to failure, the editor presents stimulating extracts from letters of Fr. Foucauld,—that great missionary to Palestine and North Africa.

THE CHRIST OF ISLAM. Michael Hayek. *Worldmission,* New York. Winter, 1959-1960. pp. 36-45. Although the Christ of the Koran, that pale, humiliated prophet, is far removed from the teachings of the Church, what picture of Jesus are we showing to the East with our emphases on science, money, technology, and the State?

THE CHURCH IN THE SUDAN. *The East and West Review,* London. October, 1959. pp. 122-129. Gives an historical background of the Church since 1898 and the advent of the C.M.S. and reports that at present there are about 300,000 Christians in the area.

GESPRÄCH MIT MUSLIMS. Gerhard Hoffmann and Erich Viering. *Evangelische Missions-Zeitschrift,* Stuttgart. October, 1959. pp. 137-147. Describes the author's "conversations" with the leader of the Ahmadiyya Mission in Hamburg; with Abdul Latif, Iman of the Mosque in Hamburg; and with Abdus Schakoon Kunze, the first German Muslim missionary.

DER ISLAM IN OSTAFRIKA. S. Hellmund. *Evangelische Missions-Zeitschrift,* Stuttgart. December, 1959. pp. 181-183. An account of the aims of a conference held at Dar-es-salam in November, 1958.

DIE KUNST ALS MINORITÄT ZU LEBEN. Kenneth Cragg. *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin,* Basel. 1959, part 3. pp. 121-134. Taken from the March-April issue of "Study Program in Islam".

PAN-ANGLICAN, Hartford, Conn. Fall, 1959. The Most Reverend Angus Campbell MacInnes, Archbishop of Jerusalem, has compiled an issue of rare interest covering the Middle East, with articles by outstanding bishops and other churchmen.

REFUSALS OF CHRISTIANITY. D. T. Niles. *Episcopal Overseas Mission Review,* Washington. Michaelmas, 1959. pp. 17-23. The author replies to "refusals" by a Hindu, a Buddhist, and a Muslim — in the last case showing how Jesus, as Saviour, saves humble, repentant man from his sins.